

Al-Balad as a place of heritage: problematising
the conceptualisation of heritage in the context
of Arab Muslim Middle East

Thesis submitted by
Janet Shawash

In partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy (Ph. D.) in Development Planning

University College London
Development Planning Unit
Bartlett Faculty of the Built Environment

I, Janset Shawash confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

This thesis addresses a problem affecting places of heritage throughout the world as represented by the case of al-Balad, the historical centre of Amman in Jordan: despite the increasing efforts expended on the conservation of built heritage, most social groups appear to be uninterested; this contradiction results in problems of neglect, dilapidation and lack of participation in its construction and representation. The research explores three possible sources of contradictions that cause this problem: the process of meaning construction in capitalist societies, the global conceptualisation and institutionalisation of heritage, and the role of dissonance of identities in creating dissonance in the construction of heritage. In order to explore such a subjective topic in a manner that would produce generalisable findings instrumental for purposes of urban planning and development, the chosen methodology is structural and positivistic and relies on frameworks of semiotics, mapping, media topic analysis, and most importantly on the findings of an extensive questionnaire survey that was made possible by the gradual opening up of public expression in Jordan.

The first source of contradictions explored manifests through the construction of meaning. In an investigation of frameworks that explain the process, the semiotic framework of the myth developed by Barthes is synthesised with the ideas of Baudrillard and Lefebvre who also explored the process of production and consumption of meaning in bourgeois societies that is of particular relevance to the neo-liberal economic framework in Jordan, which caused a focus on cultural tourism and revitalisation of heritage as drivers of economic development. An application of the semiotic framework to the attributes of al-Balad showed that although al-Balad is becoming known as a place of heritage (a place of the past), for the majority of the Ammanis it is still conceptualised as a market (a place of the present).

The second source of contradictions emerges from the global conceptualisation and institutionalisation of heritage. An analysis of the plethora of definitions of heritage in literature leads to re-instating its historical role as a legitimiser of social identities, and the significance of this role for the newly emergent nations that accompanied the advent of the age of Enlightenment and modernity and espoused its ethos and latent contradictions. The major contradiction in this process is conceptualising an interruption between the present and the past, which renders the past frozen and dead.

The third source of contradictions is the dissonance of identities in Jordan. An exploration into the society of Jordan reveals several hybrid identity groups: Islamist, Arab, Jordanian nationalist, tribal and Palestinian; it also reveals that the construction of heritage in Jordan is dominated by an exclusivist Hashemite narrative constructed by the Royal family for

purposes of self-legitimization, and by an attempt to create a historically unique Jordanian identity rooted in pre-Islamic history to counter the threat of Israel. Despite the dominance of these two narratives in the Jordanian historical discourse, in reality heritage narrative is strongly shaped by US funded tourism industry, resulting in an emphasis on Jordan's Christian past. The resulting manipulation of narrative in the construction of heritage for purposes of political empowerment or economical revenue excludes most identity groups from the process, and thus they find the resulting urban heritage of little meaning or relevance; it becomes "abstract space" in Lefebvre's terms.

The conclusions of the exploration of the three sources of contradictions are discussed against the results of statistical analyses performed on the findings from the questionnaire survey revealing that despite al-Balad's deteriorating status in the urban dynamics of the city, the Ammanis still find it significant, however they perceive it primarily a place of function, and do not fulfil its potential as a place of heritage by using it to legitimise their identities. Understanding the complex socio-cultural processes that accompany the construction of heritage in Amman reveals numerous aspects of urban practices in Arab Muslim cities at a point in time directly preceding the Arab Spring.

To my Father

Acknowledgements

This thesis has been produced over the span of several years and would not have been possible without the help and encouragement of many wonderful and supportive people.

First and foremost I would like to thank the Urban Workshop as an institution for the provision of the generous scholarship for the pursuit of this PhD degree, as well as the generous funding of the survey that was conducted as part of the fieldwork and enabled the production of original and significant findings to support the arguments of this thesis. I would also like to thank the team of the Urban Workshop, H.E. Akram Abu Hamdan, Arch. Nashwa Suboh, Eng. Kamal Jalouqa, Arch. Hana Huneiti and all the other members who supported my work. Their belief in the significance of the subject of this thesis and their endeavour to make Amman a better place via urban planning, design and research has been a great motivator all along.

I also extend my gratitude to my primary supervisor Prof. Yves Cabannes, whose insightful guidance shaped the concepts and conclusions of this thesis, and helped me develop the research ideas and questions to completion. From Prof. Cabannes I take more than his contribution to my research; in our continuous collaboration I have learnt the value of voice and social inclusion. Thank you Yves for all your advice, patience and support!

I would also like to thank my secondary supervisor Michael Edwards and my former supervisor Babar Mumtaz for their valuable contributions; as well as the professors and members of the Development Planning Unit, and of University College London for educating and assisting me throughout the years. Special recognition is due for the examiners Prof. Irene Maffi and Dr. Beverley Butler for their scrupulous revision and constructive critique without which this thesis would've been a lesser work.

The questionnaire survey conducted in this research would not have been possible without the assistance of the team of Jordan Centre for Social Research, and the advice and guidance of its director Dr. Musa Shteivi. The team of Greater Amman Municipality have also been of tremendous help by providing information and allowing access to the process of the development of al-Balad. I extend special gratitude to the former Mayor of Amman, Eng. Omar al-Ma'ani for taking interest in the research, facilitating access to data, and arranging a round-table discussion about the main concepts of the thesis with the team involved directly in the development of al-Balad and the planning of the city.

For assisting me in the collection of data and documents I would like to thank the numerous contacts at the Ministry of Tourism, the Ministry of Culture, the National Museum, the Museum of Folklore, and the House of Arts. I would like to thank especially Eng. Wa'el al-Saqqa, head of the Jordanian Professional Association for sharing his insights. In the course

of the fieldwork I have interviewed several people, who added greatly to my understanding of Jordan and the Jordanian society, and helped formulate the conceptualisation of heritage and identity. I extend my gratitude to H.E. Hisham al-Tal, H.E. Tareq Masarwa, H.E. Abdularazzaq Tbeishat, H.E. Faisal al-Fayez, H.E. Abdulilah al-Khatib, H.E. Janet al-Mufti, Wedad Kavar, Dr. Nabil Abu-Dayyeh, Dr. Majd el-Hmoud, Dr. Mazen Asfour, Dr. Fawzi Zayadin, Dr. Rami Daher, Fadi Ghandour, Arch. Rasem Badran, Arch. Majed al-Tabba', Arch. Khaled Za'balawi, Haydar Mahmoud, Ziyad Abu Ghanimeh, Dr. Ahmad Fakher, Arch. Ihab Ammarin, Arch. Mervat Ha'obbsh, Malak al-Fayez, Sita al-Hadid, and many others. I also extend my gratitude to the numerous merchants of al-Balad and residents of the surrounding areas for their warm reception and honest opinions.

This work would not be complete without the logistic support provided by Khaled al-Tal and Jameel al-Sahouri, who acted on my behalf in collecting data while I was in London; nor without the help and enthusiasm of my new-found friend Mamdouh Bisharat, the Duke of Amman. Thank you all!

Finally I would like to extend my deep gratitude to my family and close friends, whose logistic, financial, intellectual and emotional support made the process of producing this thesis possible and exciting. I will forever be in your debt.

Table of contents

	Declaration	2
	Abstract	3
	Dedication	5
	Acknowledgements	6
	Table of contents	8
	Acronyms	12
	List of figures	13
	List of tables	17
1.	<i>Chapter One: Introduction</i>	
1.1.	Introduction	18
1.2.	Introducing the problem of research: observing al-Balad as a place of heritage	18
1.3.	Research rationale, assumptions and objectives	20
1.4.	Disciplinary focus	22
1.5.	Structure of the thesis	23
2.	<i>Chapter Two: Research methodology and fieldwork methods and analysis</i>	
2.1.	Introduction	26
2.2.	Defining al-Balad	26
2.2.1.	Etymology and choice of term	26
2.2.2.	Spatial definition of al-Balad and the study area	30
2.3.	The research's ontological position and epistemological approach	36
2.4.	Fieldwork methods	37
2.4.1.	Mapping real-estate values in the city of Amman	38
2.4.2.	Newspaper topic analysis in search of the dominant attributes of <i>al-Balad</i>	41
2.4.3.	The questionnaire survey	44
2.4.3.1.	The questionnaire	45
2.4.3.2.	Sampling	46
2.4.3.3.	Summary of statistical analysis	51
2.4.4.	Photographic documentation and interviews	52
2.5.	Objectively researching a subjective topic: discussing questions of validity, inference, credibility bias and ethics	53
2.5.1.	Research validity and methodological limitations	53
2.5.2.	Bias in research	54
2.5.3.	Ethics in research	56
2.6.	Translation, transliteration and transmission of concepts between the	57

3.	<i>Chapter Three: the spatialisation of heritage as a construct of meaning</i>	
3.1.	Introduction	59
3.2.	Heritage as a resource in cultural power dynamics	59
3.2.1.	Problems resulting from the power dynamics of heritage	59
3.2.2.	Understanding the power dynamics of heritage	60
3.3.	Theorizing on the spatialization of meaning	62
3.3.1.	Relationship of meaning and space	62
3.3.2.	Dynamics of power in the space of capitalism and the work of Henri Lefebvre	63
3.4.	Understanding how meaning is embodied in space: constructing an analytical framework	65
3.4.1.	Methodologies for the analysis of spatialization of meaning	65
3.4.1.1.	Cognitive geography	65
3.4.1.2.	Semiotics of place	66
3.4.2.	Semiotics	67
3.4.2.1.	Emergence and limitations of semiotics	67
3.4.2.2.	The structure of a semiotic system: denotative and connotative systems	68
3.4.2.3.	Myth and consumption: Barthes, Baudrillard and Lefebvre	71
3.5.	Constructing a semiotic framework to explore al-Balad as a place of heritage	76
4.	<i>Chapter Four: problematising the concept of heritage</i>	
4.1.	Introduction	77
4.2.	"Heritage," constructing a definition of the concept	77
4.2.1.	Approaches to defining heritage	78
4.2.1.1.	The first approach: Defining heritage through descriptive and prescriptive discourse	79
4.2.1.2.	Second approach: the historical trajectory of the development of the concept of heritage	87
4.2.1.3.	Third approach: Defining heritage through comparison with relevant concepts	95
4.2.1.4.	Fourth approach: defining heritage through model-based frameworks	100
4.3.	Problematising inherent sources of conflict in the dominant definition of heritage	103
4.4.	Illustrating moments of conflict in the conceptualization and practice of heritage in Jordan	108
4.5.	An operational definition of the concept of heritage and the role of power dynamics in the construction of its meaning	111
5.	<i>Chapter Five: voices of dissonance conceptualising a Jordanian past</i>	
5.1.	Introduction	113
5.2.	Actors and institutions constructing a Jordanian heritage	113

5.2.1.	Conceptualisation of heritage in Jordan: actors and institutions	114
5.2.1.1.	Pre-Emirate period	114
5.2.1.2.	Establishment of Department of Antiquities (DoA): beginning the official institutionalisation of heritage	114
5.2.1.3.	The role of Ministry of Culture	115
5.2.1.4.	Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities (MoT): tourism as a driver for heritage conservation	116
5.2.1.5.	Greater Amman Municipality: urban development as a driver for heritage conservation	118
5.2.1.6.	The role of Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Ministry of Awqaf and Islamic Affairs	119
5.2.1.7.	The role of individuals and civil society	119
5.2.2.	Problems of institutionalisation of heritage in Jordan	121
5.3.	The multiple identities of Ammanis	122
5.3.1.	Approaches to categorising identities in the Middle East	123
5.3.2.	Dominant collective identities in Jordan	125
5.3.2.1.	Tribalism	126
5.3.2.2.	Modernisation and nationalism: on being Arab, Jordanian and Palestinian	132
5.3.2.3.	Islam and Islamism	135
5.3.2.4.	Constructing the Hashemite historical narrative of Jordan	138
5.3.3.	Multiple hybrid identities and the link to heritage	140
5.4.	Contradictions in the construction of the past in Jordan: between narrative and practice	142
6.	<i>Chapter Six: understanding al-Balad, the problem, and the construction of meaning of heritage in its space</i>	
6.1.	Introduction	146
6.2.	Al-Balad through histories of prosperity and decline	146
6.2.1.	The complex historical layers of Amman	146
6.2.2.	Development of Amman and al-Balad in the period 1946 till today	153
6.3.	Revealing the contradictions in the urban status of al-Balad and substantiating the research problem	157
6.4.	Deconstructing al-Balad: attributes of place in discourse	165
6.4.1.	Al-Balad as a place of nature and eventful topography	167
6.4.2.	Al-Balad as a market and a place of industry and services	168
6.4.3.	Al-Balad as a hub of public transport	173
6.4.4.	Al-Balad as a place of archaeological and architectural heritage	175
6.4.5.	Al-Balad as a place of leisure	176
6.4.6.	Al-Balad as a place of culture	177
6.4.7.	Al-Balad as a place social history	178
6.4.8.	Al-Balad as symbol of the State and as a symbol of the Nation	178
6.5.	Al-Balad in the imagination and practice of the everyday life of the people of Amman	180
6.6.	Locating the contradictions in the process of meaning construction for al-Balad as a place of heritage	187
6.6.1.	Applying the semiotic framework to the attributes of al-Balad	187
6.6.2.	Locating the contradictions in coding al-Balad as a place of	190

6.6.3.	heritage Al-Balad as a place of heritage versus al-Balad as a place of tradition	192
7.	<i>Chapter Seven: al-Balad as a place of heritage for the dissonant identities of Amman, analysis and conclusions</i>	
7.1.	Introduction	194
7.2.	How the people of Amman conceptualize heritage	194
7.2.1.	Defining heritage (turath) in Amman	194
7.2.2.	The notion of interruption in the conceptualisation of heritage and the significance of tradition as a relationship with the past in Amman	196
7.2.3.	The role of identity and belonging in conceptualising heritage in Amman	198
7.3.	Spatialising a relationship with the past in al-Balad	201
7.4.	Implications of research for the theory and practice of heritage conservation and revitalisation; contribution and suggestions for future research	206
	References	209
Annex 1	Findings of topic analysis of articles relating to al-Balad in three Jordanian newspapers	236
Annex 2	The survey questionnaire (English and Arabic versions)	239
Annex 3	The survey process: guidelines and procedures for conducting the survey and preparing the findings for statistical analysis	263
Annex 4	Statistical analyses of the findings: summary of statistical principles, analysis and tests utilized in this research	276
Annex 5	Results of statistical analyses: matrix of associations between pairs of examined variables showing presence and values of Cramer V correlations	285
Annex 6	Main landmarks in al-Balad and the surrounding area	289
Annex 7	Ranking for city areas in terms of price and rent as per the findings of real-estate survey	291
Annex 8	Formal and informal markets of al-Balad	295
Annex 9	Architectural elevations of Faisal and Rida streets in al-Balad	297
Annex 10	Theoretical introduction to the definition of the concept of identity	299

Acronyms

The following acronyms are used in numerous instances in the narrative. In first occurrence, the full name in addition to the acronym is included. Acronyms are not used for names of organizations or institutions which do not occur repeatedly in the text.

DLS	Department of Lands and Surveys
DoA	Department of Antiquities
DoS	Department of Statistics
GAM	Greater Amman Municipality
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
MoMA	Ministry of Municipal Affairs
MoT	Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNWTO	World Tourism Organization
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

List of figures

Figure	Title	Page
1- 1	Two privately rehabilitated traditional buildings c. 1920s in Amman	19
1- 2	Examples of abandon and neglect of buildings on the main streets of al-Balad	20
2- 1	Differing English terminology for al-Balad	29
2- 2	An aerial photograph of Amman in 1918	31
2- 3	An aerial photograph of Amman in 1953	31
2- 4	An aerial photograph of Amman in 1990	32
2- 5	An aerial photograph of Amman in 2000	32
2- 6	The 8 neighbourhoods that comprise the al-Madina area	33
2- 7	Al-Madina area according to Department of Lands and Surveys	33
2- 8	Land use zoning in Al-Madina area as planned by Greater Amman Municipality	34
2- 9	Demarcation of the study area	34
2- 10	Phases of interpretive theory building (grounded cycle)	37
2- 11	Hierarchy of the multi-strategy methodology	38
2- 12	Annual numbers of articles published in the three newspapers show a general increase for the five-year period	42
3- 1	Elements of a denotative system	69
3- 2	A study of the evolution of the human skull	70
3- 3	A semiotic framework detailing the construction of a connotative system to assign the concept of racial superiority to the sign of the skull	71
3- 4	Scheme of Myth construction - transformation of language into myth according to Barthes	72
3- 5	The analytical framework of meaning construction, which is a result of the synthesis of Barthes' structure of Myth, and Baudrillard's four levels of value	74
3- 6	Communication framework by Roman Jakobson	74
4- 1	A model of heritage production	101

4- 2	A circuit of heritage	102
5- 1	A child holding a poster in a recent demonstration demanding government reforms in Madaba	121
5- 2	Percentages of the main and secondary perceived identification in the society of Amman	126
5- 3	Map of Jordan showing the different environmental divisions according to rainfall	127
5- 4	A sequence of maps of historical periods showing the extent of authority during subsequent civilisations in the region of greater Syria	128
5- 5	Percentages of the place of origin for the survey population	131
5- 6	Percentages of three levels of family relations for the survey population	131
5- 7	Percentages of travel destination and frequency for the population	134
5- 8	Percentages of education attainment, proficiency of English and the language of preference in the media	134
5- 9	Percentages of regularity of prayer for the survey population	137
5- 10	Percentages of regular, irregular and no practice of prayer as a proxy of religious commitment in Egypt, Iran, Turkey and Kazakhstan	138
6- 1	Roman period landmarks as excavated in al-Balad	147
6- 2	Islamic period landmarks as excavated in al-Balad	147
6- 3	Panorama of al-Balad as seen from the Citadel, taken in 1875	151
6- 4	Archaeological landmarks of Amman before the arrival of the Circassians	148
6- 5	Amman at the turn of the 20 th century; a general view of the village	148
6- 6	Amman at the turn of the 20 th century; a photograph of the Nymphaeum (Roman Bath)	149
6- 7	View of Amman in the 1940s	149
6- 8	View of Amman in the 1930s	150
6- 9	A military parade taking place at Faisal Street	150
6- 10	Projects initiated by GAM and the State in and surrounding al-Balad	157
6- 11	Mapping of the price of residential rent in Amman, 2007	159
6- 12	Mapping of the price of residential land in Amman, 2007	160
6- 13	Mapping of the price of commercial land in Amman, 2007	161
6- 14	Mapping the distribution of shopping malls and global chain food outlets in Amman	164
6- 15	Memories of nature and water in al-Balad Amman	166
6- 16	Memories of nature and water in al-Balad Amman; a view of the rivulet	166
6- 17	The urban morphology of al-Balad	167

6- 18	Some aspects of formal commerce in al-Balad	169
6- 19	Some aspects of informal commerce in al-Balad	172
6- 20	Archaeological sites in al-Balad; the Roman theater	174
6- 21	Archaeological sites in al-Balad; the Nymphaeum	174
6- 22	Archaeological sites in al-Balad; the Umayyad Palace on the Citadel Hill	174
6- 23	Examples of well preserved architecture from the 1920s-1940s period	175
6- 24	Men coming together for socializing and discussions at Café Hamdan, c. 1920s	177
6- 25	Rows of prayers spilling out on the front yard of the Husseini mosque	179
6- 26	Percentages of frequencies of visits to al-Balad by the respondents	181
6- 27	Percentages of responses regarding the desirability to visit al-Balad	182
6- 28	Percentages of responses regarding the significance of shopping for variable types of goods in al-Balad	183
6- 29	Percentages of frequencies of shopping for goods of everyday and mod-term consumption	183
6- 30	Percentages of frequencies regarding details of transportation practices and the importance of al-Balad as a hub of transportation	184
6- 31	Percentages of frequencies regarding the importance of al-Balad as a place of archaeology, cultural activities, socializing and expressing public opinion	184
6- 32	Percentages of frequencies for the performance of cultural activities and expressing public opinions in everyday life	185
6- 33	Percentages of frequencies regarding the topic of memories associated with al-Balad	186
6- 34	The denotative level of meaning construction of al-Balad (temporally contextualized in the period 1920s-1950s)	188
6- 35	The connotative level of meaning construction of al-Balad (temporally contextualized in the period 2005-2010)	189
7- 1	Percentages of reasons given by the respondents as to why heritage is important	195
7- 2	Percentages of the most important forms of heritage ranging from the intangible to the tangible, examined on two levels	195
7- 3	Percentages of answers on the best use for heritage buildings	196
7- 4	Percentages of the most important scales of heritage on temporal and geographical scales	196
7- 5	Percentages of answers on what social groups are the most attached to heritage	197
7- 6	Levels of geographical belonging, in terms of belonging to West vs. East Bank, geographical scale, and the degree of belonging to Amman	200

- 7- 7 Demonstrations demanding constitutional and governmental reform 202
start out from the front of al-Husseini Mosque in al-Balad

List of tables

Figure	Title	Page
2- 1	Area and population of al-Madina and the study area	35
2- 2	Percentages of occupied residences in Amman according to area	39
2-3	Real-estate price averages for the city of Amman, 2007	40
2-4	Topics emerging in article analysis arranged in an order from the most mentioned to the least	43
2-5	Summary of margins of error for frequency percentages ranging from 5% to 100% on an interval of 5% to be used for reference in the discussion of frequencies analysis in following chapters	48
2-6	Comparison of margin of errors for several sample sizes at frequencies of 50%	48
2-7	The 20 strata of sampling, the number of households, population, derived sample size and the number of clusters per each stratum	51
4-1	A summary of the three levels of definition of heritage and the conflicts that arise at each level	107
6-1	Divisions of sectors present in al-Balad markets, their subcategories, sizes and most occurring locations	171
6-2	Attributes of al-Balad and their relative weights as emerged from the newspaper topic analysis	188
6-3	Comparison of al-Balad's relevant attributes in terms of their representation in the media, their significance to population, and the size of population that performs these attributes	190

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1. Introduction

Jordan is an Arab Muslim country in the Middle East, Amman is its capital, and al-Balad is the historical centre of Amman; al-Balad is also a market, a hub of transportation, and a place of rich archaeology and history. This research attempts to explore and understand a problem afflicting many an old city centre in the world, which appears to be manifesting in al-Balad: on one hand it is recognised as the historical centre of the city, there is much talk about its importance, the significance of its heritage as a reminder of the good old days, and that it must be transformed into the cultural heart of the city. On the other hand there is the reality of its condition as a place falling apart, neglected and physically dilapidating, people often appear uninterested in it and are frustrated by the difficulties associated with navigating its spaces and characters. The clashing of these two attitudes results in contradictions that manifest in problems in urban planning, heritage preservation, project implementation and public participation. In this thesis I attempt to explore and understand the causes and processes that lead to this predicament, beginning with this chapter which introduces the research problem in more detail and lays out the structure of the research explaining its reasoning, chosen approach, objectives and assumptions.

1.2. Introducing the problem of research: observing al-Balad as a place of heritage

The contradictions surrounding al-Balad as a place of heritage emerged by observing - throughout the researcher's life, education and career¹ - the conflicting attitude the people of Amman have towards this place. On the one hand, the heritage of al-Balad is applauded in articles, conferences and seminars; protected by regulations and legislation and rehabilitation projects (Figure 1-1); and celebrated via visiting and conducting cultural activities in its streets and spaces. Everyone seems to consider heritage significant, and there is hype in the air about the bringing back of al-Balad. It is the place of identity, of memories and authenticity. It is extremely significant and must be preserved.

¹ The researcher has lived most of her life in Amman, has conducted a study on the old architecture of Amman for her Master's thesis, and later worked in the field of urban planning and design, whereby several projects were planned and designed in cooperation with the Greater Amman Municipality (GAM).



Figure 1-1: Two privately rehabilitated traditional buildings c. 1920s in Amman. The image on the left is a building located in the main street of al-Balad, restored and used as a cultural residence by Mamdouh Bisharat. The image on the right is located in Jabal Llwebdeh, rehabilitated as *Darat Al-Funun* (Home of Arts) by Khalid Shoman Foundation. Source; figure on the left (Shawash, 2007), figure on the right (Al-Asad, Old houses of Jordan: Amman 1920-1950, 1997).

However, there is another side to this narrative, one that does not appear in the newspapers, and would be criticised if voiced in official spheres. This side is one of apparent apathy, and disinterest in al-Balad. This caption from one of the interviews conducted in this research represents this side well. The conversation was held with a man living close to al-Balad and the topic of the conversation was the significance of al-Balad for him:

Janset: ... if they demolish al-Balad tomorrow, you will not be affected?

AS: no, because everything is available [elsewhere].

Janset: well, will you be upset?

AS: on the contrary, we'll be happy! One will go down quickly and up quickly. Not two hours by car. (Sahouris, 2007)

This apparent apathy towards al-Balad as a place of heritage is not exclusive to narrative; it also emerges in practice in the form of neglect (Figure 1-2), and lack of participation in the debate on heritage, which seems to be solely the domain of experts, officials and architects. Even in the context of this debate, while there is a confirmation of the significance of heritage and there is an acknowledgement that it contributes to identity, there is usually little discussion on why it is significant, and what identity that is. Another alarming circumstance, and one that is difficult to pin down objectively, is the deficiency of what Sarkis (2005) calls the “civic pride,” and observes that in the case of the Syrian city of Aleppo, civic pride “has been the driving force behind the success of the restoration of the Old City.” He offers a little anecdote of two older Aleppine ladies comparing summer vacations:

- “How was Paris?
- *Paris c’est jolie, mais ce n’est pas Alep.*
(Paris is beautiful, but it’s not Aleppo.)”

Alas, very few such anecdotes could be overheard in Amman. In Amman one could hear talk of belonging to the city, of nostalgia, of reminiscence, but there is confusion in regard to identifying with the city, and with its heritage, to the extent that the Mayor, on several occasions called for the creation of an Ammani identity, because most often people living in Amman identify themselves with other cities – the cities of their ancestral origin. There is

always talk about the need to raise awareness about heritage and to protect it, but now and then, an official would ask: “so after we buy and restore these buildings, what do we do with them?”²



Figure 1-2: Examples of abandon and neglect of buildings on the main streets of al-Balad. On the left the image shows a shop gutted and closed off in a row of occupied shops. On the right the image shows a stone building dating to the turn of the century, potentially a heritage building that has been abandoned, gutted and boarded off (Shawash, 2009).

When it comes to heritage in Amman, confusion and superficiality in relating to the concept seem to be the norm; heritage is an old radio put in the corner of the room, or it is “rustic” shutters installed on a rehabilitated building; it is something to remind us of a past, but a past so blurred we cannot fathom why we need to remember it to start with. On the other hand, the apparent apathy and indifference towards heritage are blamed on ignorance: “How could these people not appreciate heritage? We need to make them aware of how important it is!”

1.3. Research rationale, assumptions and objectives

The circumstances described above point to a problem: a dissonance in the relation of the people of Amman to heritage, and in particular to the heritage of al-Balad. In this research this relation is considered to be based on meaning, as it is meaning that gives an object value and significance in people’s minds. As such, heritage will be addressed as a construct of meaning, and al-Balad will be examined as an object or more precisely a spatial construct that carries this meaning.

Another consideration to guide this research is my experience in urban planning and development, which are disciplines where the contradictions manifesting in al-Balad present particular challenges. Although the interest in heritage is growing in Jordan, and there is a great appreciation of the problems surrounding its revitalisation on the urban level, little research has been performed towards exploring the size of these problems, and the structural reasons that contribute to their creation. Important anthropological and ethnographic research has been dedicated to understanding the relationship of Jordanians to their heritage, and much has been done in the way of documenting Jordanian heritage, and designing projects to revitalise its built form for purposes of urban development and cultural tourism, however, there is a noticeable absence of research that would quantify

² This question has been raised on more than one occasion in meetings relating to projects in the city at the Greater Amman Municipality (GAM).

the relationship of Jordanians to heritage and provide insight into the associations among the various characteristics of the Jordanian people and the multitude of ways they choose to interpret their past. Ultimately, what this denotes, is that the rehabilitation projects are based on assumptions, and on the confidence the minority of rehabilitators have in their knowledge of the Jordanian society, which, judging from the performance of the projects in Jordan, is not complete. The unfortunate lacking of quantitative research in Jordan regarding the construction of meaning and the past is understandable due to forms of repression of public opinion practiced in Jordan in past decades, and the sensitivity of the topic. However, Jordan has spent much effort on democratising and strengthening the public sphere, and allowing for the expression of public opinion, especially in the wake of the Arab Spring of 2011. Although this is a slow and troubled process, the opportunity presented itself in the period of this research to attempt a quantitative approach. Following this rationale and opportunity, and in an attempt to objectively characterise and analyse a subjective topic, this research follows primarily a structural and positivist methodology. However, objective methods might point to trends and associations, but they do not always allow to establish causalities; to cover this potential gap, the research also incorporates some aspects of qualitative methodologies, especially in light of insufficiency of literature on topics of heritage and identities in Jordan.

The desire to explore and locate trends and associations in the processes of meaning construction in relation to heritage directs the research towards exploring collective forms of heritage rather than individual. Furthermore, the term dissonance used to describe the problem of research posits that the contradictions are a result of multi-vocality and not of a binary in the conceptualisation of heritage. The two oppositional discourses summarised above represent not the majority, but a simplification of the loudest voices in media and practice.

In order to explore and understand the problem at hand, I address three main possible sources of contradictions:

1. The process of meaning construction, which in itself might hold seeds of contradiction, linked specifically to the socio-economic context of al-Balad. One of the main objectives in understanding this process is to reveal instances of manipulation in the conceptualisation of heritage, and to emphasise that it is not a natural phenomenon but a socio-cultural construct created to frame a certain form of relationship with the past, and in this case in a spatial context.
2. The global conceptualisation and institutionalisation of heritage, which frames expectations of what heritage is and what it should be, and which might be interpreted differently in different contexts. In order to explore the conceptualisation of heritage, I attempt to derive a comprehensive definition from literature and critique it in relation to the context of the case study. It is also important to understand how dynamics and contradictions of meaning construction manifest in the conceptualisation of heritage and practices of its conservation, revitalisation and commodification.
3. The role of dissonance of identities of the different social groups in Amman in creating dissonance in the construction of heritage. In order to unfold the contradiction, the research attempts to explore the multiple sides of the process of construction of

heritage, the various actors who contribute to it, and the manners in which different social groups in Amman relate to it.

Before being able to explore the findings and theories in the context of the case study, it is critical to define the case study itself and objectively characterise the problem of research that is initially based on subjective observation. For this purpose I pose a two sided question:

What *is* the place of heritage that is al-Balad? What does al-Balad *mean* as a place of heritage to the divergent groups that form the society of Amman?

A dismantling of this two-sided question produces a number of more focused questions that guide the research, and serve to provide evidence to support the research problem: What is al-Balad? What is its condition in discourse, which is arguably a position of significance? What is its condition in reality, whereby reality denotes its characteristics and its status in urban dynamics? What is its condition in the imagination of the people of Amman? What does it mean to them as a place?

By exploring the social aspect of the notion of dissonance further questions emerge: What are the voices of dissonance? What are the divergent groups that constitute the society of Amman? How do these groups differ in the conceptualisation of heritage? How does this dissonance result in the contradiction in the space of al-Balad?

In short, this research attempts to destabilise the naturalised reality of the concept of heritage, on both the conceptual level and the level of practice, by deconstructing its conceptual framework, questioning its logic, and grounding its assumptions in the reality of a context. In the process, the research will pursue the specific objectives of critiquing the definition of heritage in order to make it more relevant to the context of Arab Muslim cities; understand the processes and dynamics that lead to the creation of contradictions in the conceptualisation of heritage; provide a deeper and objective understanding of the complex identity groups that constitute the society of Amman; reveal how the conceptualisation of heritage relates to the urban practices of the Ammanis, and how it can be made relevant to more social groups; and furthermore, explore the characteristics of al-Balad as a place and a concept in the mind of the Ammanis.

1.4. Disciplinary focus

This research, as most research conducted in the field of heritage studies, attempts to bridge several disciplines, a circumstance that poses challenges and opportunities. In pursuing its line of logic it brings together ideas and theories from cultural studies, social studies, architecture, urban planning, geography, linguistics and semiotics, environmental and social psychology, history of Jordan and the Middle East in addition to an array of research methods and methodologies.

Each of these disciplines contributes to the research; however, as the research is conducted at the Development Planning Unit, it remains strongly influenced by the concepts and paradigms of development planning. As such, the research focuses on issues of dominance, opposition, negotiation and agency, not in order to dichotomise socio-cultural relations but rather to facilitate selection of theories and approaches for the purpose of understanding the dynamics that frame these relations. The research emphasises the concept of multi-

vocality and seeks out under-represented voices and concepts that become obscured due to the dynamics of power in the realm of theorising and the academia (such as the concepts of tradition and tribalism as discussed later). The discipline of development planning also necessitates that use of established terminology such as East/ West (North/ South), developing and developed countries, modernity and traditionality. Although this terminology is used widely in the field, it nevertheless remains problematic and constantly challenged. So for example, there is no clear geographical delineation for what constitutes the West or the East, nor a unified criteria or consensus regarding the countries that could be categorised under each term. For the purpose of this research the West can be considered to consist of countries that historically underwent the process of industrialisation espoused with the ethos of Enlightenment such as strive for certain forms of morality, rationality, individualism and self-fulfillment. Under this loose definition, Japan, for example is considered part of the East, despite being industrialised. As for the terms of developed versus developing countries, the defining criteria proposed by the United Nations is the Human Development Index, which consists of a synthesis of economical and social indicators. According to this denomination, Japan is considered a developed country for example. Modernity and traditionality have a specific relation to the conceptualisation of heritage and are discussed in depth in due time.

Furthermore, heritage examined in this research is framed in the context of a neo-liberalist economy of a developing country and conceptualised according to development policies and projects which operate in a globalised world. The research critiques dynamics of the development process in relation to practices of heritage conservation, and unveils moments of contradiction that contribute to the creation of the problem at hand. Working in the context of a developing country can be limiting, much of the information used in the course of the research had to be acquired firsthand via fieldwork, conducting a comprehensive questionnaire survey required much effort, and interviews had to be conducted to balance the scarcity or the bias of literature covering issues in context. However, this also provided an opportunity to produce original material and data from the context that can support future research.

1.5. Structure of the thesis

Being a product of grounded research, the development of this thesis is not linear, a circumstance that reflects on its narration. Due to the multidisciplinary approach to research, literature review is segmented in order to support each part in place. While the bulk of the literature is directed towards the main topic of research - heritage, many other instances of literature review and survey of theoretical background are included to enable the reader to become aware of our standing on those topics.

Including this introductory chapter, the thesis is divided into seven chapters. The Second Chapter is methodological; it defines the case study of al-Balad on both the semantic and spatial levels, and details the qualitative and quantitative methods used in the fieldwork to build a body of data to support and ground the arguments. These methods include photographic documentation, mapping, topic analysis, interviews, and lead up to the most challenging piece of fieldwork: a structured questionnaire survey of 1,000 respondents. The results of the survey provide original insight into the way the people of Amman perceive

and construct their views on al-Balad, heritage and identity and how they use the city. The chapter also provides an explanation of the statistical analyses used to locate associations in the process of perception and conception of heritage and identity, which form the base of discussion in contextualising the propositions of the theoretical chapters. The methodological chapter also outlines the ontological and epistemological position of the research as well as addressing issues of research validity, bias and ethics.

The Third Chapter is dedicated to revealing the sources of contradiction produced by power dynamics in the construction of the concept of heritage as a system of meaning. The chapter starts by discussing heritage as a resource in cultural power dynamics, presenting some problems that arise from the process such as elitism, marginalisation and objectification of heritage products. It then presents the concepts of governmentality and cultural hegemony as a tool to explain power dynamics. The next step is to link the concept of heritage, as a symbolic construct of meaning to physical space. The work of Henri Lefebvre emerges as particularly useful, as he examines the effect of cultural dynamics of capitalism on the symbolic structure of space. In order to procure an analytical framework to use in the deconstruction of the concept of heritage and reveal the effect of power dynamics, I examine applicable methodologies, arriving at the conclusion that cognitive geography is not useful in this particular situation, and proceed to exploring the applicability of semiotic analytical structures. Semiotics appears to be advantageous to the analysis, especially the writing of Roland Barthes, who worked on revealing the power dynamics in several instances of the Bourgeois culture and proposed the concept of the "Myth" to explain them. The linguistic base that the semiotic analysis offers is also of benefit, since it provides an objective structural approach to the subjective notion of meaning construction. The chapter provides a background to semiotics and some examples of generic tactics used to perpetuate the values of the powerful through discourse. In order to link the framework of Myth with the practices of the people of Amman in more depth, I synthesise it with Jean Baudrillard's concept of four levels of value, which he devised for the study of sign in capitalist cultures. The framework of Myth is subsequently applied to the concept of "heritage" and to the concept of "al-Balad as a place of heritage" in order to reveal the contradictions and interruptions latent in the process of conceptualisation. However, because semiotics only focus on the construction of meaning, I also introduce communication theory, which enables the contextualisation of the process of construction by revealing the actors, their systems of value, and the possible relationships that might develop between them. This chapter provides a deeper understanding of the way the concept of heritage is constructed, and shows that it is not unique in this matter, as any other cultural product, such as arts or literature, it is subject to power dynamics.

The Fourth Chapter problematises the conceptualisation of heritage in order to produce a critical operational definition that would be relevant to the problem and its context, and that would address both the ideology and the reality behind defining the term. A survey of literature on heritage reveals four approaches to definition: descriptive, historical, comparative and model based. From the examination of these approaches emerges a comprehensive definition of heritage what emphasises the intrinsic link between heritage and identity and reveals the high degree of manipulation that power dynamics of identities play in the conceptualisation of the term.

In Chapter Five I explore the voices of dissonance that contribute to the conceptualisation of heritage in Jordan, and attempt to understand the complex relationships among the actors involved in the construction and consumption of heritage in Jordan. The conceptualisation of heritage is addressed on both the symbolic level and the level of practice, revealing instances of manipulation of meaning-construction and the contradictions that emerge from the process especially in relation to heritage being used as a tool in the tourism industry, urban development and supporting the narrative of an official national history.

The Sixth Chapter defines the case study al-Balad and attempts to objectively explore how the problem of research becomes manifest. The chapter begins with providing a micro and macro introduction to the place, its history, and status in relation to the city. Al-Balad is problematised as a place of heritage, and presented as a place of other attributes, as a market, a hub of transportation, cultural and social activity, and political expression. Having described the case study and objectively characterised the urban dimension of the research problem, I proceed to explore the semiotic dimension of al-Balad, the meaning it holds for the Ammanis, through the application of the semiotic model and the findings of statistical analyses.

The thesis concludes with Chapter Seven, which discusses the effect the three sources of contradiction have on the conceptualisation of heritage in the space of al-Balad based on the fieldwork findings. To conclude the thesis this chapter emphasises the significance of identity building for heritage, explains the contribution of this research to development planning and explores the possibilities of a more inclusive and locally relevant approach to conceptualising a relationship with the past.

Chapter Two: Research methodology, fieldwork methods and analysis

2.1. Introduction

Chapter One introduced a specific problem manifesting in the context of al-Balad in Amman: a contradiction between its significance in discourse and its dilapidating physical reality; and proposed the exploration of three sources that lead to this contradiction: the process of meaning construction in capitalist societies, the global conceptualisation and institutionalisation of heritage, and the role of dissonance of identities in creating dissonance in the construction of heritage. In addition to literature and theoretical analyses, and in order to contextualise the theoretical findings, explain and validate both the research problem and the proposed contradictions, the research undertakes a number of methods to acquire data from the field. As proposed earlier, the bulk of these methods is geared to attain quantitative data, in order to resolve the gap in knowledge, and produce a general measure that describes all groups of the society in Amman in relation to their conceptualisation of heritage and regard for al-Balad. However, the topic of research is very subjective, and so a measure of interpretation and qualitative methods is required to link the subjective and the objective in the analysis via multi-strategy methodology.

This chapter begins by defining the case study of al-Balad, and proceeds to detail the methods employed in research and fieldwork such as mapping, topic analysis of newspaper articles, interviews and most importantly a questionnaire survey directed at a sample of a thousand persons. The chapter also explains the statistical approach to analysing the data, whereby the results of analysis and findings are used to support and illustrate arguments throughout the thesis; as well as discussing issues of validity and methodological limitations, capability of inference, credibility, addressing the research bias and ethics and nuances of translation and transliteration.

2.2. Defining al-Balad

Before proceeding to explore the problem, it is important to define Al-Balad on multiple levels: the semantic choice of terminology, definition of al-Balad as a geographical space, its history up to the modern time, its conceptualisation in municipal masterplans, and its development and transformation as a part of the city.

2.2.1. Etymology and choice of term

In literature of prevalent Western urbanism, it is evident that the European city model is different from its American counterpart. These differences arise from several reasons such as the difference in historical development and continuity as well as differences in economical and social processes. The relevance of this difference to the research at hand is

the emerging dichotomy in terms and concepts associated with the examined urban component– the centre.

European cities have generally progressed from small towns or feudal city states into much larger entities driven by changes in modes of industry and production, social movements and political attitudes. In general, the centre of the European city is its historical nucleus, central in the services it provides and the symbolism it projects. Extents and boundaries of these city centres differ according to their context, yet they share characteristics of historical low-rise architecture, uses differentiated vertically rather than horizontally and in many cases become the vehicle to promote the naturalisation of the nation that they belong to. As for the American model, it had much less time to develop. Concentric city models were introduced by planners such as members of the Chicago School, who generally argue that a city concentrates around or radiates from a core, which is the Central Business District (CBD). Much of the American thought on urbanism is produced in discussion of the role of this central district, its rise and fall and the degeneration and revival of the “inner city” that surrounds it. A more used synonym of CBD is the term “downtown.”

Fogelson (2001) offers a detailed definition of the term “downtown” as a uniquely American place and a uniquely American word. The first place to be referred to as “downtown” was the southern part of Manhattan Island in New York, where the term, already used in the literature of the 1830s, had a geographical meaning. “Down” literally signified South, just as “up” signified North; hence, northern Manhattan was known as “uptown” and New York State north of New York City is known as “upstate.” With the dramatic growth of New York in the following decades and the subsequent restructuring of the city, the original mixed use of that area was jeopardised, as residences were forced out and it was transformed into an exclusively business and services district. After these developments, the term lost its geographical symbolism and took on a functional meaning. By the 1870s, downtown signified commerce, traffic and law, while uptown signified affluent residential districts. By the end of the nineteenth century, the term “downtown” became synonymous with the central business district virtually everywhere in urban English-speaking America appearing in literature and dictionaries. Although the term “uptown” retained its functional meaning, it did not catch on as well as its antonym (Fogelson, 2001).

The American downtown was a constricted area no larger than a car factory, with no clear boundaries. It did not exist legally as it did not correspond to the municipal partitioning of the city into wards. Yet it was the place where all means of transport converged and was very prominent by the height of its buildings. Downtown was a crowded, noisy, bustling place by day, and desolately empty at night, as city dwellers preferred to reside in the suburbs due to the high rise of downtown properties’ prices, its transformation into a place of commerce and services and the availability of public transport in addition to the allure of the quality of life in the suburbs (Fogelson, 2001).

As for the historical Arab Islamic city, the term “madina” is used for an urban settlement, specifically its older part. Hakim (1986) analyses the morphology of Arab Islamic cities stating that a madina should have three main components congregated at its centre: a Masjid al-Jami’ – a congregational mosque where the Friday sermon is given and which

should serve all the residents of the city; a governor and/or a kadi (judge) who can execute his duties within the city's area, and whose place of residence (dar al-imara) and the place where he performs his duties (diwan) would be adjacent to the mosque; and a souk (market) consisting of numerous components to service the needs of city inhabitants, people living in the countryside and passersby (Hakim, 1986).

Historically there has been an overlap between the terms of "madina" and "balad" in the Arab language. In one of the most authorised references on Arab terminology, Lisan al-Arab, composed by Ibn Manthour in the thirteenth century AD, "balad" (بَلَدٌ) is defined as "any location or piece of land, built upon or not, that is owned by someone," the definition continues to elaborate that "balad" (بَلَدٌ) also refers to the type of place such as Iraq or Sham (Syria), and "balda" (بَلْدَةٌ) is "a specific part therein such as Busra or Damascus." As a verb, "balada" (بَلَدَ) means "settled in a place." As a verb, "madana" (مَدَّنَ) means the same thing, and the noun of this verb is "madina" (مَدِينَةٌ), indicating a settlement. However, the dictionary elaborates on the term adding that "madina" is "any land that has a citadel at its highest grounds." The term "madina" indicating a "city" was already in circulation at the beginning of Islam in the seventh century AD, as the Prophet Mohammad renamed the second most important city in Islam in Arabia from its pre-Islamic name Yathrib to al-Madina (the City) to indicate its new status and religion. Mecca, the most important city in Islam nevertheless, was also known as al-Balad al-Haram (Holy City) or al-Balad al-Ameen (Secure City), which indicates the inter-changeability of the two terms "madina" and "balad."

However, with the development of Western urbanism and the differentiation of city and town in terms of size and function in urban theory, the Arab terminology was similarly differentiated; al-madina (المدينة) came to indicate a city, while al-balda (بَلْدَةٌ) came to indicate a town. The term al-balad has developed to become the vernacular equivalent of al-balda, and is used in the everyday language of Jordan in reference to any town, or to what was historically known to be a town, such as the centre of Amman.

Although the Arabic official municipal title for the area referred to as al-Balad in Amman is "al-Madina" (المدينة) or "wasat al-Madina" (وسط المدينة), meaning "city" and "city centre" respectively; the term popularly used for the centre of Amman is "al-balad" (البلد), or more simply "Amman," although this term can be easily confused with the name of the city as a whole. A more recent term that has been used for the place is "wasat al-Balad" which means "centre of town" and can be considered the adaptation of the term "city centre," applied to Amman by British and European city planners, to the vernacular language. In conducted pilot fieldwork, the interviews revealed that the term "al-balad" is the main used name of the centre of Amman in the everyday vernacular of the people of Amman. It refers to the old part of the city centring on the market; "wasat al-balad" sometimes indicates only the area contained in King Faisal street and the plaza in front of Hussein Mosque (Annex 6), however it is not a term used by frequent users of the place. As one interviewee commented: "there is no north-*al-balad* or south-*al-balad*, so why should there be a wasat-*al-balad*?" (Ma'aytah, 2010).

Furthermore, in the Jordanian use of English terminology, which is the second language in academia, official nomenclature and the expressions of younger generations, a

contradiction occurs. The terms “city centre” and “downtown” are used interchangeably and without conscious differentiation. The term “downtown” seems to be the term of choice for the majority of people who are active or potential users of the place. A simple search on google.com for “downtown Amman” comes back with thousands of hits consisting of blogs, pictures and websites produced by a plethora of contributors, many of which are Jordanians themselves and tourists who visited the location. The term can be found adorning all of the maps of Amman in English, in official documents relating to and describing the centre of Amman, and in some academic literature and critiques as well as newspaper articles. On the other hand a Google search for the term “Amman city centre” returns with hits produced by foreign news agencies and hotel booking websites, and it is the term of choice use on signage produced by GAM and Ministry of Public Works (Figure 2-1).



Figure 2-1: Differing English terminology for al-Balad. The term ‘downtown’ is used in Google Earth (2007) (top left) and a tourists’ brochure produced by Ministry of Tourism (bottom left). The term ‘city center’ is used street signs (right).

The preference of the term “downtown” over the term “city centre” in the media described above can be attributed to several reasons, the first being that the act of going to this place literally translates from Arabic as “descending to town” or “going down to town” (nazel ‘al balad, نازل على البلد), since its location is in a valley. The second reason can be linked to globalisation, or more specifically the Americanisation of culture, where this word could have permeated Jordanian vocabulary through media. The Americanisation process was of special relevance when American agencies and planners became involved in urban planning in the late 1960s and 1970s, as explained below, when the term Central Business District was first used to define the area, with the synonym “downtown” possibly attached.

But the semantic plurality of the place does not pass without conflict. For example, a major quasi-governmental real-estate project in central Amman – al-Abdali, claims on its marketing billboards and website that: *“In the heart of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, Amman, a new downtown is being created. A downtown blossoming with energy. Jordan’s hub for business interaction. Lifestyles will be forever enhanced.”* (Abdali, 2006) The use of

the term “new downtown” could thus be understood in a sense of opposition to the “old downtown,” or in a purely independent sense meaning that this “new downtown” is a unique a novel phenomenon in the city. Daher (2006 & 2007), on the other hand, criticises this claim for the establishment of a “new downtown” arguing that this “*represents a symbolic replacement of the existing historic downtown.*” In a purely terminological sense, Daher equates the historical downtown and al-Abdali district, and thus perceives al-Abdali as a symbolic threat. In this sense he does not distinguish between the phenomena of “downtown” and “city centre,” but perceives them both as competing places of collective symbolism.

And so, it appears that the place we research here has several names: Amman, wasat al-Madina, al-Madina, al-Balad, wasat al-Balad, Central Business District, downtown and city centre. However, for the purpose of this research and in the spirit of reflecting popular culture, the language of the common man we choose to use the term “al-Balad.” Nevertheless, the process of choosing and using a term is not entirely straight-forward, as the literature used in this research employs the numerous terms interchangeably.

2.2.2. Spatial definition of al-Balad and the study area

Just like downtown Manhattan, al-Balad is not a clearly defined place, it is a place demarcated in the public imagination. When asked to define the boundaries of al-Balad in the survey, the respondents supplied 266 different answers, of which the most frequent, “from Raghadan Station and Hashemite Plaza to Ras al-Ain,” accounted only for 6% of the responses. The closest area that coincides with al-Balad, or the city centre in official demarcation is termed al-Madina. However, the variance observed in the naming of the centre extends to the official demarcation of its geographical boundaries. The two main authorities responsible for demarcation, as well management and planning of land in Amman are the Department of Lands and Surveys (DLS) and Greater Amman Municipality (GAM). Despite the overlapping responsibilities of the two authorities, the boundaries, definitions and names used for the subdivisions of al-Madina and in fact for many areas across the city differ significantly. While GAM demarcates al-Madina by the valleys contained in the early extension of the city and the Citadel Hill (Figure 2-2 and 2-5, compare with Figure 2-6) and subdivides it into 8 neighbourhoods identified according to commonly and locally agreed names, DLS defines al-Madina as approximately the extension of the city in the 1950s and subdivides it into “neighbourhoods” named after landmarks (streets or buildings) they contain (Figures 2-3 and 2-7).

This discrepancy in definition and division can be attributed to the different time and circumstances under which the two authorities were established and operated. While the first municipal council was established under the Ottomans in 1909 to oversee a settlement of 1,500-2,000 people (GAM, 2005), land was still registered under the Ottoman *tabu* system which did not perform comprehensive surveying but depended on oral description to demarcate ownership boundaries (Fischbach, 2000). In 1927, the first Law of Land Surveying and Valuation was issued in the Emirate of Transjordan, and the Lands Department was formalised in 1929 (DLS, 2007). This department was administrated by British officials and conducted a comprehensive land survey across the country completed in 1952 (Fischbach, 2000).

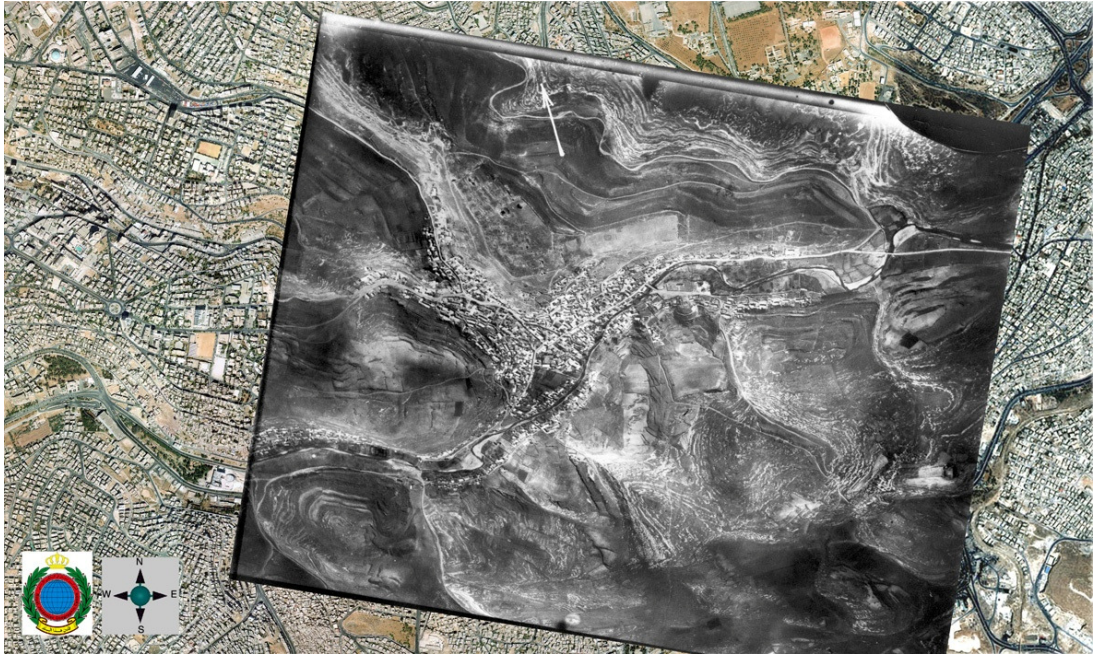


Figure 2-2: An aerial photograph of Amman in 1918 (in grayscale), taken from a German airplane. It can be observed that Amman was no more than a village surrounding a T and a Y junction. The slopes of the adjacent hills are empty. The 1918 aerial photograph is overlaid on an orthographic photograph from 2000 (colored) for the sake of consistency of scale. It can be assumed that the 1918 photograph had a degree of distortion, which contributes to imperfect alignment of the edges and the direction of the North. (Aerial photographs courtesy of the Royal Scientific Society, Jordan, 2005).



Figure 2-3: An aerial photograph of Amman in 1953. We can observe that the city expanded little in 35 years, and generally in the direction of the West.



Figure 2-4: An aerial photograph of Amman in 1990. We can notice the relative intensity of expansion in the 37 years since 1953, mainly due to the arrival of thousands of Palestinian refugees in the aftermath of the 1948 and 1967 Arab-Israeli wars; and funds made available by the oil boom in the region. The white area is the area of the Royal Palaces, cut out from the photograph by the Royal Scientific Society for security reasons, as was the practice at the time. This photograph is also overlaid on the 2000 aerial photograph for the sake of scale consistency among the photographs.



Figure 2-5: An aerial photograph of Amman in 2000. The central part of the city was already densely built up by the 1990s, hence there is not much change in this photograph from the previous one.

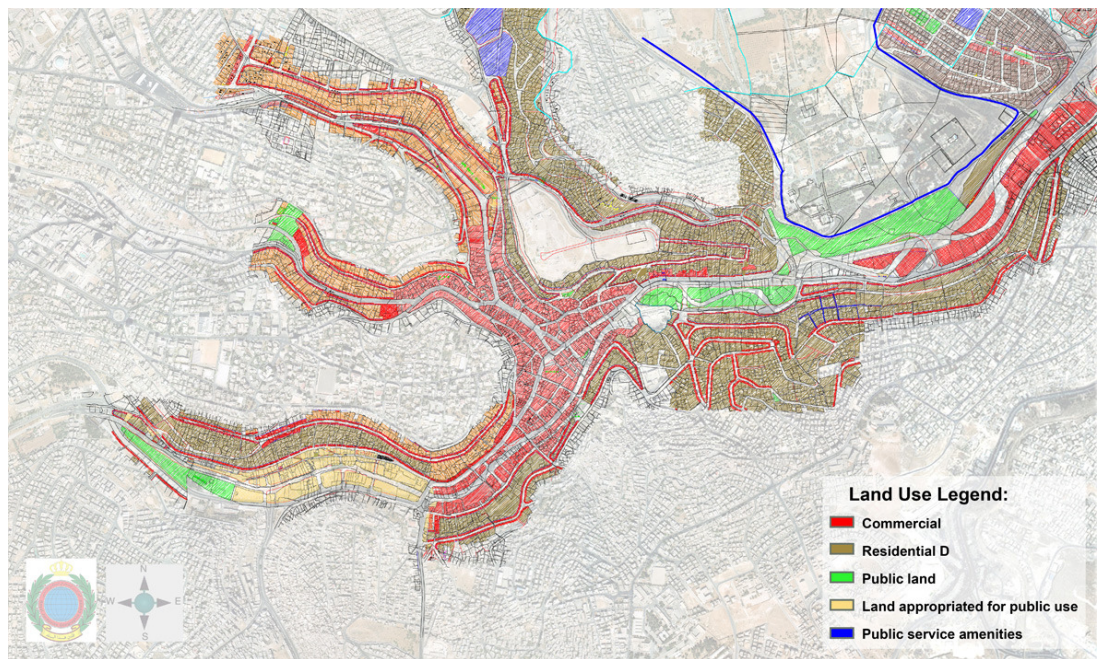


Figure 2-8: Land use zoning in Al-Madina area as planned by Greater Amman Municipality.

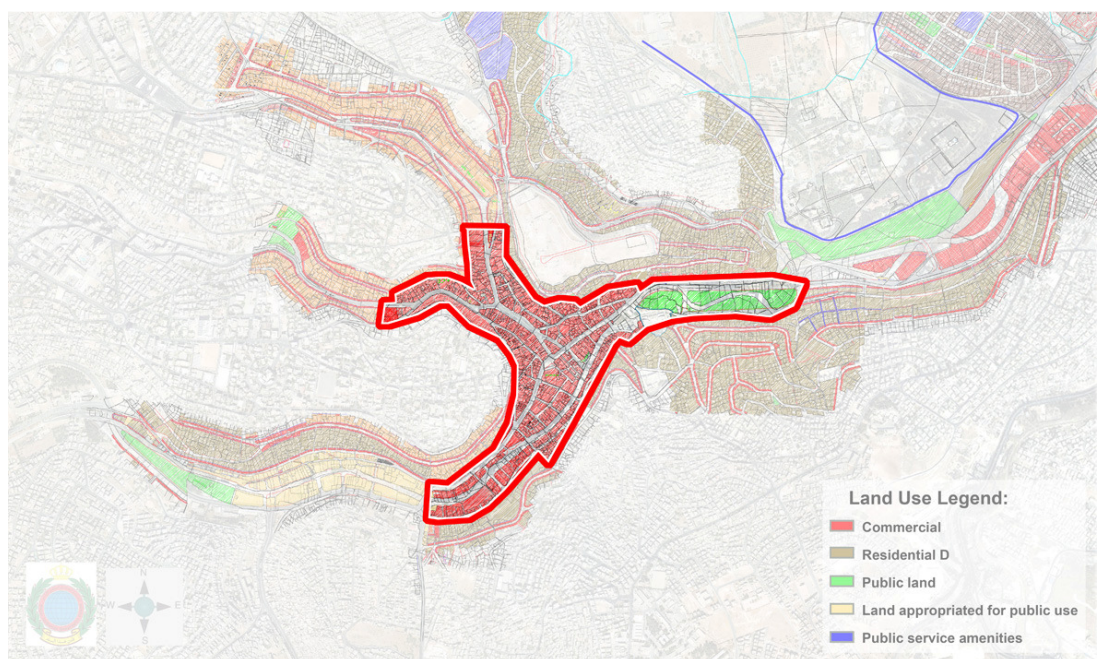


Figure 2-9: Demarcation of the study area according to the concentration of commercial use and public land in al-Madina area, or as termed in this research - al-Balad.

The empirical approach to the demarcation of al-Madina produced different boundaries. However, what both mapping systems agree on is the conception of al-Madina streets as edges, which in turn designate neighbourhood boundaries. Even symbolically important streets such as Faisal St. were not considered an entity per se, but a physical separation of urban fabric clusters.

For the purposes of this study, and when required, the used demarcation is that of al-Madina, designated by GAM as a reference to al-Balad. This demarcation defines al-Madina, as an area of about 300 hectares, divided into 8 neighbourhoods: *Wadi Haddadeh, El-Adliyyeh, Jabal Al-Qal'a, El-Rjoum, Al-Mohajireen, WadiSrou, Al-Mudarraaj, Jabal Al-Jofeh*. This area comprises of different land uses with the bulk dedicated to commercial use (50% of total area) and residential use (37% of total area) (Table 2-1). The population size of the area was approximately 38,500 in 2008¹; which translates in a general density of 128 persons per hectare, versus the city average of 53; for reference, the city maximum is 312. However, the population measured consists of the populace of residential areas, so the density of residential areas can be approximated at 343 people per hectare.

Total area of al-Madina	300 ha	
Residential	112 ha	37%
Commercial	150 ha	50%
Services	12 ha	4%
Green areas	12 ha	4%
Other (archaeology)	16 ha	5%
Study area	50 ha	17%
Total population (2002)	38,500	
Population density	128 per 1 ha	

Table 2-1: Area and population of al-Madina and the study area (MEEM, 2006).

Having thus roughly described the geographical boundaries of al-Madina, it is important to emphasise that it is not the actual geographical area that is the subject of this study. This thesis is concerned with “al-Balad as a place of heritage” as a concept, and as a space of meaning and practices; the scale of heritage addressed here is the collective rather than the individual; as such, in defining the area of the study, an emphasis is placed on the areas that are accessible to the public, both physically and symbolically. The area of the study is roughly limited to what can be considered “public space” within the larger area of al-Balad (or al-Madina). The attribute “public” in this case refers to both ownership and use, as both of these categories appear in al-Balad (Figure 2-8), and thus the study area can be clearly defined by the extent of these categories (Figure 2-8 and 2-9). The space of private ownership and public use is the area of the market, massed around three main streets: Faisal St., Hashemi St. and King Talal St., while the space of both public ownership and use

¹This number was obtained from the reference mentioned above for the year 2002. The same number was obtained from GAM directly as part of information on their latest census of city population in summer 2008. The number of population for al-Madina area as per DoS for 2004 is 29,792; although it is not certain that DoS uses the same delineation of the area as GAM does. Of the al-Madina population 75% are of Jordanian nationality, and the gender ratio for Jordanians is 1.03 males per female; for the non-Jordanian nationals this ratio is 3.26 males per female (DLS, 2004), which corresponds to a context of a majority of immigrant single male workers living in the area for the non-Jordanian nationals.

is the space located along the Eastern part of Hashemi Street, including and surrounding the Roman theatre complex, the building of former municipality, a public garden, the Hashemite Plaza and the former Raghadan terminal.

2.3. The research's ontological position and epistemological approach

Having established that this research is about meaning, how it is socially constructed and applied to space directs the research towards specific epistemologies. On an ontological level, this research follows a rationale developed initially by John Locke (1632-1704) who argued that humans are born as tabula rasa, and what we know develops as a result of our experience (Bernard, 2002). This position departs from rationalism which argues that there are a priori truths, which will become evident if we prepare our minds adequately. The rationalist empiricist approach assumes that truth exists independently, and that we only have to use reason to unveil it. It also presupposes that truth is unitary and that there is a fundamentally right and wrong interpretation of truth. David Hume (1711-1776) opposed this opinion and stated that we come to understand what is true from what we are exposed to, meaning that "we can never be absolutely sure that what we know is true." This approach agrees with the research rationale, which explores the social construction of meaning. The research accepts the argument that social groups construct their own versions of reality which in turn shape the material world, whereby contradictions emerge from dissonance among these versions of reality.

The purpose for conducting this research, which is facilitating more successful, inclusive urban heritage rehabilitation, suggests certain epistemologies such as the humanist approach which posits that "human beings live in a web of meaning that they themselves spin" (Bernard, 2002). On another level, this is also an interpretive or hermeneutic study; as it attempts to understand the meaning of human actions. This interpretation is supported by critical theory, contextualising it in the political and economical order that shapes and controls culture and society.

In a sense this study is both interpretative and phenomenological. Edmund Husserl (1859-1938), the father of phenomenology, argued that we can only know the world through understanding of consciousness and perception as experienced from the first-person point of view. One of the phenomenological methods Husserl introduced is "epoché," which posits that knowledge of essences can only be achieved by "bracketing," and suspending judgement about the natural world, or accepting the naturalisation of a phenomenon, that precedes phenomenological analysis. Bracketing consists of systematically stripping away the layers of symbolic meanings of a phenomenon until only the object itself remains (Smith, 2008). The idea of stripping away of layers of symbolism to reveal the object is utilised in defining and deconstructing the key constructs of heritage and al-Balad.

The concrete methodology for the study of construction of meaning utilised here is semiotics. Although semiotics originally developed alongside linguistics and structuralism, the form of semiotics utilised in this research is the post-structuralist, which rejects the idea of a text having a singular meaning and allows for a multifaceted interpretation. The

analysis explores the shifting of meaning in relation to specific variables, particularly the identity of the reader.

The theory building model employed in this research is grounded and draws on both the inductive and the deductive methods (Figure 2-10). A grounded theory can be defined as “one that is inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents. That is, theory is discovered, developed, and provisionally verified through systematic data collection and analysis of data pertaining to that phenomenon” (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Grounded theory developed in reaction “against the natural science model of research method that always begins with hypothesis to be tested.” (Ezzy, 1990) Grounded research begins by identifying the key issues that guide data collection, and subsequently theory is built up from observation. “Observations are not selected to test a theory. Theory is ‘grounded’ in data.” (Ezzy, 1990) In this research, the processes of developing the narratives, problem identification, application of theoretical and analytical frameworks and relating the hypotheses back to the context is nonlinear, and linked over and over again to the context.

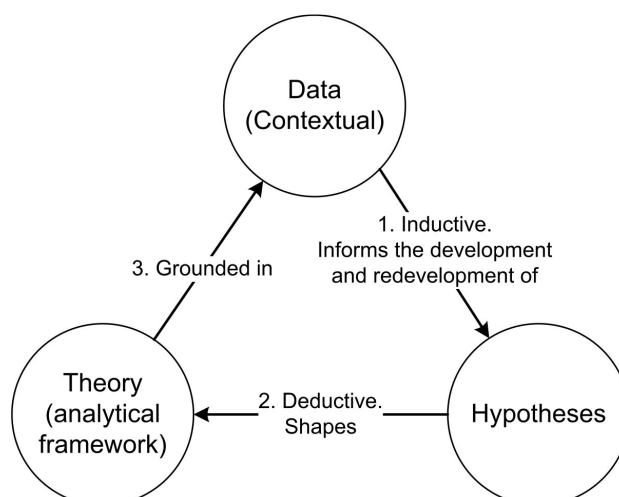


Figure 2-10: Phases of interpretive theory building (grounded cycle), after (Ezzy, 2002).

2.4. Fieldwork methods

As explained above, this research takes a primarily structured and positivist approach to understanding and exploring the research problem in order to resolve the problem of scarcity of objective and statistical data relating to the problem on one hand, and in order to counter-balance the subjective nature of the topic on the other.

In order to substantiate the research problem, explore the three sources of contradictions and answer the research questions the research employs a number of methods. In their broad terms these methods can be divided into theoretical analysis and the analysis of fieldwork findings that consist of original data. Theoretical analysis and literature review are employed to place the research in its disciplinary context, establish causality and identify contradictions in the three proposed sources. To substantiate the research problem and contextualise the contradictions, the research relies on the analysis of fieldwork findings. To obtain data from the field both qualitative and quantitative methods are

utilised in a multi-strategy methodology which allows triangulating the methods and validating the findings. However, the quantitative methods provide the major bulk of data in findings.

The fieldwork for this research relies on several methods of gathering original data:

1. Mapping the real-estate values for the city of Amman, mapping of consumer trends and historical mapping: to locate al-Balad within the dynamics of the city;
2. Topic analysis of articles in periodical publications: to identify the main characteristics of al-Balad in the media;
3. Questionnaire survey: to allow the voices of the divergent groups that constitute the society of Amman to come through in terms of their conceptualisation of heritage, relationship with al-Balad and the city, in a quantitative manner subject to statistical analyses;
4. Photographic documentation: to provide visual evidence for the narrative;
5. Semi-structured interviews: to help identify voices obscured in literature and provide personal narratives representative of the people of Amman.

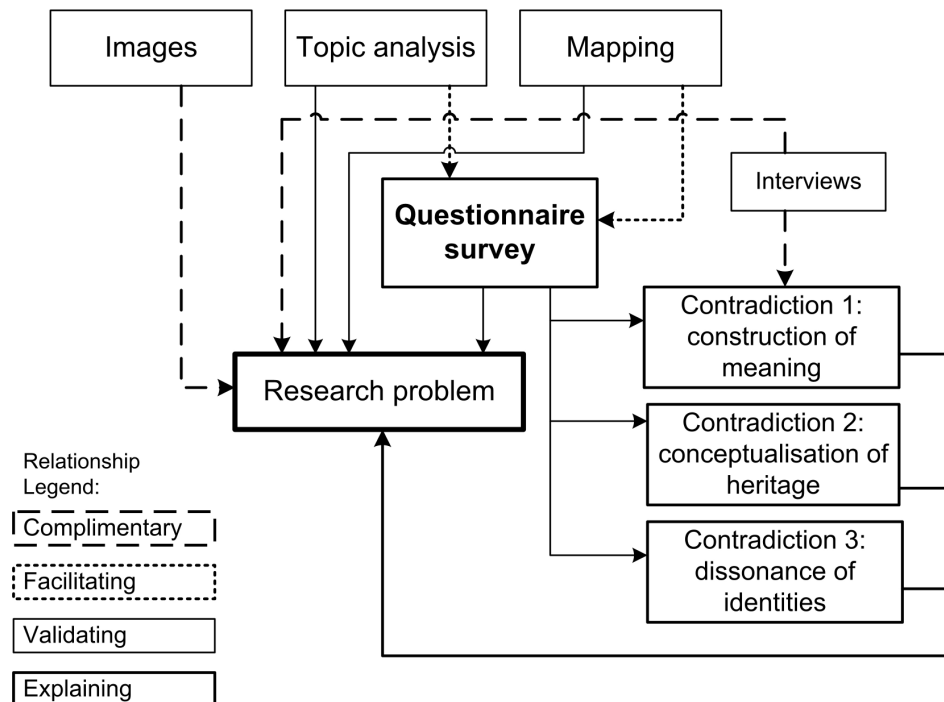


Figure 2-11: Hierarchy of the multi-strategy methodology.

This multi-strategy methodology consists of methods that serve the purpose of validating the research problem directly, some methods serve to validate the contradictions, and some assist in constructing the content of the questionnaire used in the survey, which in turn is used to validate the research problem and the contextualisation of the three sources of contradictions (Figure 2-11). The details of each research method are as follows:

2.4.1. Mapping real-estate values in the city of Amman

Mapping of real estate values for the city of Amman was performed for two primary reasons:

- To show the geographical distribution of wealth in the city, thus illustrating the status of al-Balad in the urban dynamics of the city.
- To provide a proxy for measuring economical status of respondents in the questionnaire survey. The efficiency of this proxy was weak as discussed below.

The area included in this survey is the area of the Greater Municipality of Amman (GAM) (this area is consistent for all of surveys in this research), which is divided by GAM into 27 administrative “areas,” 16 of which are further subdivided into 101 administrative “neighbourhoods.” The variables measured in this survey were the price of rent and land for residential, office and commercial uses.

In regard to residential use, the 2004 census showed that the total number of residences in Amman amounted to 378,164 units, whose areas were as follows:

Area in sq.m.	Percentage %
Less than 100	38.6
100-149	32.3
150-199	18.4
200-299	8.0
300 and above	2.7

Table 2-2: Percentages of occupied residences in Amman according to area. (DoS, 2004)

In the survey, three most popular categories were selected for measurement, and were represented by flats of areas 100, 120-150 and 170 square meters, as these were the flat areas that emerged as most prevalent.

In regard to the rent of commercial space, three most prevalent areas were used as well: 50, 70-100 and 150 square meters. The rent of office space was also measured for offices of areas: 50, 70-90 and 120 square meters.

In regard for residential space in Amman, it was found that the ratio of owned to rented homes in Amman was 67.6/29.5 in 2004 (slightly changing to 66.9/28.7 in 2006) (DoS, 2006). This suggests that using residential rent as a proxy for wealth incorporates only one third of residences, which may weaken the significance of this measure as a proxy. Thus, the measure of price of residential land might contribute to resolving the problem. Furthermore, measurement of the price of commercial land may prove significant for illustrating the status of al-Balad in relation to other commercial centres in the city. The prices for residential land were measured for 1,000 sq.m. plots² in areas zoned Residential A. And the prices of commercial land were measured for 1,000 sq.m. plots in areas zoned commercial central or linear.

The survey took place in 2007, via a research assistant in Amman. The survey consisted of documenting the average market asking price for each variable in each neighbourhood. This was performed by consulting real-estate agencies for some areas, and by directly acquiring prices for three different units that belong to a category and then deriving the average. Although these prices have changed due to the transition of real estate market from a state of economic boom into a state of economic downturn, nevertheless they show a

² 1,000 sq.m. known in Jordan as *dunum* is the area unit used the most in relation to land and real-estate.

relationship among the areas of the city, which changes relatively slowly, and thus still probably apply today (especially in the absence of major factors of change, such as major projects).

For ease of analysis, and to allow for the use of the price data in the main survey, the areas in this survey were collapsed to 20, according to area population densities as acquired from GAM. Some areas were combined into single cases (the title of such cases explicitly states all areas included), while other areas of low population density, which considerably deviated in real-estate price were disregarded.

The table below (2-3) shows the resulting averages for each area and for each variable.

Area Number	Area	Rent (JD per m2)									Price (JD per m2)	
		Residential (100 m2)	Residential (120-150 m2)	Residential (170 m2)	Commercial (50 m2)	Commercial (70-100 m2)	Commercial (150 m2)	Offices (50 m2)	Offices (70-90 m2)	Offices (120 m2)	Residential	Commercial
1	Al-Madinah	0.92	0.80	0.74	3.18	2.16	1.35	1.85	1.40	1.06	35.00	66.88
2	Basman	1.06	0.97	0.77	5.01	3.71	1.94	2.80	2.16	1.48	50.71	96.43
3	Al-Nasser	1.35	1.32	0.99	3.04	2.24	1.25	2.48	2.26	1.32	67.00	95.00
4	Al-Yarmouk	0.98	0.89	0.81	2.23	1.61	0.98	2.00	1.63	1.10	35.00	60.00
5	Al-Qweismeh, Abu Alanda, Al-Juwaideh, Al-Raqeem	1.18	1.12	0.89	2.93	2.31	1.20	2.13	1.69	1.12	60.83	76.50
6	Ras Al-A'in	1.28	1.14	0.88	3.00	2.24	1.23	1.97	1.56	1.21	88.33	167.50
7	Bader	1.36	1.29	0.94	3.48	2.64	1.35	2.58	2.03	1.18	110.00	149.00
8	Umm Gseir, Muqabelein, Al-Bnayyat	1.00	0.91	0.75	2.58	2.08	1.07	1.95	1.54	1.06	71.25	100.83
9	Zahrn	2.14	1.88	1.55	5.84	4.50	2.39	5.24	4.09	2.57	212.00	530.00
10	Al-Abdali	1.90	1.65	1.39	6.50	4.56	2.50	4.88	3.56	2.41	272.50	507.50
11	Marka	0.98	0.88	0.79	3.25	2.63	1.33	2.50	2.00	1.33	46.25	83.33
12	Tareq	1.45	1.24	1.10	3.63	2.46	1.49	2.65	2.08	1.42	116.25	265.00
13	Al-Jubeha	2.34	1.98	1.58	4.04	3.06	1.69	3.86	2.85	1.88	242.14	735.00
14	Tla' Al-Ali, Umm Al-Summaq, Khalda	2.49	2.14	1.68	6.80	4.81	2.52	5.91	4.50	2.78	374.00	977.78
15	Wadi El-Seer	1.85	2.04	1.55	7.34	5.23	2.71	5.49	4.21	2.59	286.11	568.75
16	Sweileh	2.08	1.75	1.45	4.87	2.94	1.84	3.52	2.38	1.74	258.33	350.00
17	Abu Nseir	1.50	1.33	1.18	5.40	3.53	1.97	3.80	2.63	1.92	180.00	750.00
18	Sahab	0.85	0.74	0.71	3.80	2.35	1.47	1.80	1.25	1.08	90.00	100.00
19	Khreibet Al-Souq	1.20	1.19	0.85	5.20	3.53	1.93	3.70	2.50	1.92	50.00	200.00
20	Na'our and Marj Al-Hamam	1.58	1.33	1.15	4.45	3.12	1.67	5.50	4.00	2.56	187.50	500.00

Table 2-3: Real-estate price averages for the city of Amman, 2007.

The findings of the survey were mapped using colour coding to represent the price or real estate in the city. The maps and the analysis of the findings are used to support the definition of the research problem. The other application of this data is to serve as proxy for economical status in the main survey. The strength of this proxy is discussed below.

Additional instances of mapping were applied to illustrate certain research arguments, for example a mapping of the locations of globalised fast-food outlets in Amman illustrates the types of consumerism associated with different areas of the city.

2.4.2. Newspaper topic analysis in search of the dominant attributes of al-Balad

This part of the fieldwork involves deriving the dominant attributes that people associate with al-Balad, in order to construct a popular definition of the place. To obtain these attributes topic analysis is performed on three Jordanian publications.

In Jordan there are 7 Arabic daily newspapers, and one daily newspaper issued in English (Press and Publications Department, 2009). For an analysis of the attributes of al-Balad, three popular daily newspapers are examined, of which two are in Arabic and one is in English. They are:

- Al-Rai (the Opinion – published in Arabic, established in 1971), generally considered the newspaper most aligned with the state. It was established during the reign of King Hussein and has the largest readership throughout the Kingdom. Al-Rai posts an archive of its issues on the internet starting with year 2001, and the ensuing analysis is based on this archive.
- The Jordan Times (published in English, established in 1974): is a subsidiary of al-Rai. For this analysis the electronic archive at the newspaper's offices was used.
- Al-Ghad (Tomorrow – published in Arabic), is a new newspaper established in 2004, and is considered a newspaper of the new reign of King Abdullah. It has royal support and a very wide readership as well. Electronic archives at the newspaper's offices were used as the source of material for analysis.

The process of analysis consisted of locating all articles that discussed al-Balad in the newspapers and determining their main topic in order to obtain the weight of al-Balad's characteristics in the media. Before introducing the results, it is important to note some issues that emerged during analysis:

- The first issue is regarding terminology. Above, the problematic issue of terminology surrounding al-Balad in both the Arabic and English languages was discussed in detail. Al-Balad - the old city centre of Amman, is defined by numerous terms in the articles, mainly "*wasat al-madina*" (city centre) or "*wasat el-balad*" (town centre) in Arabic. The noticeable occurrence that emerged in relation to these two terms is that "*wasat al-madina*" is almost exclusively used in official discourse, for example in articles related to the activities of GAM or the Ministry of Tourism; while the term "*wasat el-balad*" is used in unofficial discourse. This might be explained by the tendency of the government to focus on the urbanity and progress of Amman, insisting on the term "city," while the term "town" would be more pronounced in the collective memory of the Ammanis, who could still remember it as a small town. This could also be a division between the two types of language used in Jordan: formal and vernacular, whereby "*city-madina*" is formal, while "*town-balad*" is less so.

In light of this terminology, for example when a search was conducted in al-Ghad newspaper for the keywords “*wasat al-madina*” plus “Amman,” the output consisted of 281 articles. Of these articles 127 were related to centres in other cities, 28 were relevant to al-Balad as a place, while the rest (126) were directly linked to GAM: its projects, activities and announcements. Thus only 28 articles were available for topic analysis in search of attributes linked to the everyday life of the place, which is an insufficient amount. For this reason, in the main body of analysis the keyword “*wasat el-balad*,” which produced considerably more results, is used.

- Another issue is related to the confusion between al-Balad and the new Abdali project, which claims to be the “new downtown of Amman.” In analysed articles this does not seem to be the case in Arabic language, where the term “*wasat el-balad*” referring to the Abdali project occurs only 3 and 2 times in al-Rai and al-Ghad newspapers respectively out of (1,090) collective number of articles (0.4% occurrence). On the other hand, in Jordan Times newspaper, which is in English, the term “downtown” refers to the Abdali project 13 times out of 277 – a much higher occurrence (4.6%).

The topic analysis was performed on a total of 1,367 articles, of which 890 were usable, meaning that they were relevant to the everyday life of al-Balad, and could be put towards deriving al-Balad’s attributes. It is important to note that al-Balad was discussed in every newspaper examined. In general, the annual number of articles dedicated to al-Balad increased during the five year period (Figure 2-12), indicating an increased interest in the place. And there is a high level of the occurrence of mentioning al-Balad. On average, it is mentioned about four times a week for the three newspapers combined, which is relatively frequent.

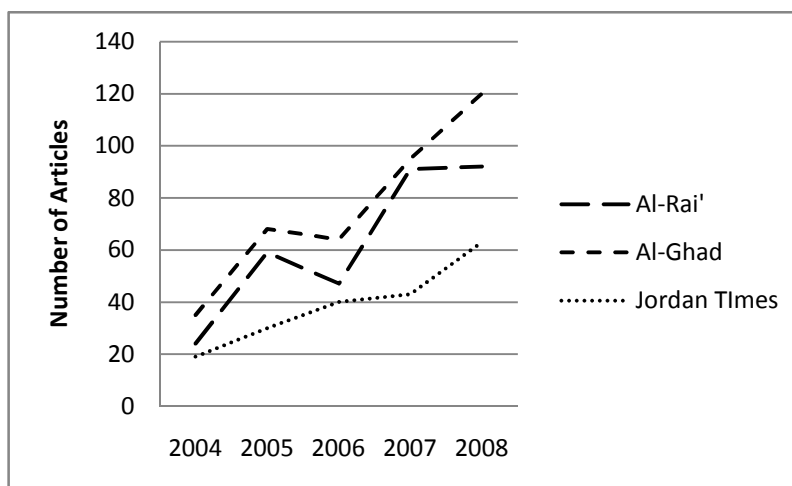


Figure 2-12: Annual numbers of articles published in the three newspapers show a general increase for the five-year period.

For the analysis of the above-mentioned daily publications, all issues for the period 2004-2008 were examined. A search for the keyword “*wasat el-balad*” yielded a number of articles for each publication, whereby the articles either focused on al-Balad as a main topic or mentioned it tangentially. In both cases the discussed topics were noted, and since the debates on al-Balad were quite specific, it was possible to combine them into 19 topics. Then the number of articles relevant to each topic was documented, whereby each article

could be only counted once. The result was a table for each newspaper showing the number of articles relevant to each topic within a specific year (Annex 1).

The 19 main topics that emerged from the analysis are detailed in Table 2-4, and range from most popular such as transportation and commerce, to least popular such as cinemas. The topics are wide-spread and cover a big number of issues that touch almost everything that characterise city life. A comparison with any other place in Amman would probably not yield the same richness of topics.

	Topic	Al-Rai	Al-Ghad	Jordan Times	Total number of articles per topic	% out of total
1.	Commerce (Formal and informal)	48	73	31	152	17%
2.	Transportation/ roads	37	57	19	113	13%
3.	Security, safety and environment	29	29	47	105	12%
4.	Culture & cultural events	43	45	16	104	12%
5.	Memory/ history	43	24	9	76	9%
6.	GAM/ actions and projects	29	33	11	73	8%
7.	Demonstrations	12	28	19	59	7%
8.	Tourism	8	19	10	37	4%
9.	Cafes	17	11	3	31	3%
10.	Heritage and museums	9	15	4	28	3%
11.	Walking in al-Balad/ public space	9	8	7	24	3%
12.	Religious practices	7	14	1	22	2%
13.	Restaurants	10	8	2	20	2%
14.	Immigrants	1	8	6	15	2%
15.	Poverty	2	7	5	14	2%
16.	Archaeology	3	1	3	7	1%
17.	Crafts, services and metiers	4	2	1	7	1%
18.	Cinemas of al-Balad	2	0	1	3	0%
	Total	313	382	195	890	100%

Table 2-4: Topics emerging in article analysis arranged in an order from the most mentioned to the least.

From this analysis, it can be observed that al-Balad is a subject of growing concern as evidenced by the growing number of articles being published each year. We can also note the size of attention dedicated to building up the discourse of the significance of heritage in al-Balad. Articles discussing issues relevant to cultural heritage (cultural events, memory/history, tourism, heritage and museums, archaeology) are mentioned about once a week for the three newspapers combined – which makes up the fourth of all articles on al-Balad – a significant ratio. On the other hand, a mass of (about) 50% of the articles is concerned with 4 attributes (roads/ transportation, formal commerce, security and safety and cultural events), of which none is significantly more repeated than others – this implies that the cultural aspect of al-Balad is as important as its other aspects in press.

The press is constructing an image of al-Balad which is mostly positive, with a great emphasis on its significance as a place of culture, leisure and social interaction, and with a lively engaging history resonant in the minds of the Ammanis. However, there is a need to

remain cautious in accepting this image, as the results of the real-estate survey suggest the opposite and we are left with a contradicting understanding of the place. Moreover, the weight of topics in the press does not represent their weight in the everyday practice of the people of Amman, it only represents the opinion of the newspapers and their reaction to events happening in relation to al-Balad. Thus, although the topic analysis provides a viable resource for al-Balad attributes, it does not provide a measure for the significance of these attributes for the everyday man.

The next step is to derive the attributes of al-Balad from the emergent topics. The attributes incorporate practices the people of Amman perform on the functional and/or the symbolical level; they represent what al-Balad is, and what it means to the people of Amman. The resulting list of attributes is used in the survey questionnaire to understand their significance in the everyday practice of the people of Amman, which would further allow for an examination of the significance of al-Balad as a place of heritage to the people of Amman.

The 18 topics derived from the analysis can be aggregated into the following attributes of al-Balad as a place:

- al-Balad as a market, including commerce (both formal and informal), industries, crafts and services;
- al-Balad as a hub of transportation, encompassing issues relevant to traffic and roads;
- al-Balad as a place of culture, encompassing cultural activities and festivals, art galleries and bookshops, and the meeting of cultured people;
- al-Balad as a place of leisure, encompassing activities that allow people to relax and play, such as visiting restaurants, cinemas, strolling in the streets and enjoying public spaces;
- al-Balad as a place of archaeology and architectural heritage;
- al-Balad as a place social history and memories;
- al-Balad as a place of demonstrations and political expression.

Other topics resulting from the analysis relate to issues describing conditions of al-Balad, its users, and problems. These topics do not contribute to the attributes of place as such, but rather to a description of its condition, and will be incorporated into the narrative as needed. They are: projects and activities of GAM; security and safety in al-Balad in addition to environmental issues, poverty and immigrants.

To the list of attributes examined in the survey, another dimension not covered rigorously in the newspapers can be added, as it emerged in the contextual description of the place: the religious dimension, al-Balad as a place of prayer.

The list of attributes above serves this research in two instances: it helps in defining the characteristics of al-Balad, and in providing a list of topics to be examined in the survey questionnaire.

2.4.3. The questionnaire survey

One of the major objectives of the survey is to produce a reading that would be representative of how the various divergent groups that constitute the society of Amman

perceive their identity, their heritage, and how they conceptualise al-Balad as a place of heritage.

2.4.3.1. *The questionnaire*

a. Topics of the questionnaire

The purpose of the questionnaire is to provide data that can be used to extract statistical proof, representative of the whole of the Ammani society, of the characteristics of al-Balad in the public imagination and practice, thus contributing to the definition of the contradiction between the condition of al-Balad in dominant discourse and its condition in reality, and to demonstrate the dissonance in the perception of heritage and the perception of al-Balad as well as the use of the place and its association with identity. The questionnaire addresses three main topics:

- Identity of the respondent;
- Respondent's perception of heritage;
- Respondent's perception and use of the multiple attributes of al-Balad in the context of the city as derived from the topic analysis as explained above.

1) First topic: Identity of the respondent

The first topic – the identity of the respondent, addresses the issue of self/collective legitimization, and its role in the construction of collective identity. The intention is to examine how changes in conceptualisation of identity relate to changes in conceptualisation of heritage. Identity aspects to be addressed are personal attributes (age, gender), relationship with the family (social status, family interaction), cultural standing (religious practice, geographical origin, education, languages spoken, media preference, travel), economical standing (income, profession, place and type of residence), and perception of self (define own identity, and place national identity in relation to that definition). The findings expected to emerge from this topic are: a general description of the respondent, involvement/reaction to globalisation, and belonging to certain identity group.

2) Second topic: respondent's perception of heritage

In this part, the following issues are addressed:

- Respondent's own definition of heritage.
- Respondent's justification of the importance of heritage. In order to gauge if the importance is naturalised or is critically addressed.
- Respondent's tendency to appreciate a particular form of heritage (tangible vs. intangible) in order to be able to correlate this with his/her identity.
- Respondent's geographical belonging, as this might indicate the locality where he/she appreciates heritage instead of Amman.
- The period to which the respondent relates heritage. This would also address the issue of the continuity of traditional life, and having a different perception of heritage.

3) Third topic: respondents use of al-Balad and of the city

By addressing this topic we attempt to establish the validity of our hypotheses – that the designation of al-Balad as a place of heritage is an application of myth, in the sense that it undermines other attributes of al-Balad that might be perceived as more important. This alone is not enough to gain an insight of how people understand heritage and apply it to space. To contextualise this point we also try to see how people practice the attributes of al-Balad in other parts of the city. This part mainly attempts to:

- Show how heritage ranks among the other attributes of al-Balad for the Ammanis.
- Show how the attributes of al-Balad rank in comparison to other places in the city or other cities.

b. Layout of the questionnaire

The questionnaire (Annex 2) is laid out in formal Arabic and begins with a section to document the respondent's characteristics and a random selection matrix to aid in selecting a random member of the household. The questionnaire then proceeds to a simplified summary of the research and to the main body of the questionnaire which consists of six parts.

The first part is an introduction, which consists of a few questions that establish that the subject of the questionnaire is al-Balad. The purpose of the introduction is to establish the respondent's relationship to al-Balad. The second part focuses on the issue of heritage: definition, importance and perceived significance of the multiple forms and scales of heritage. The third part examines the significance of the different attributes of al-Balad. While the fourth attempts to establish the relation of the respondent to the city. The fifth and sixth parts focus on the identity of the respondent. Some questions of sensitive nature regarding identity were spread through the questionnaire, in locations relevant to the question (as questions regarding religious practice, or geographical origin) to facilitate answering.

The questionnaire was tested for clarity and congruity prior to the survey on 5 respondents, and amended according to their comments, in addition to the feedback from the team of surveyors conducting the survey.

2.4.3.2. Sampling

a. Survey population:

The selection of the survey population depends on several factors. Firstly: the study focuses on the population of Amman, the symbolic centre of the nation and the place where the case study is located. Like in many developing countries, the capital – Amman is the largest and the most developed city, comprising 38.8% of the total population of the Kingdom (DoS, 2006). Secondly: although the society of Amman incorporates various groups of ethnic minorities such as Circassian, Armenian and Druz, and there is a large number of Arab and foreign nationals such as Palestinians, Iraqis (estimated to be around 500,000 persons (Fafo & UNFPA, 2007)), Egyptians, Sri Lankans and Filipinos residing in Amman (the total of recorded foreign residents in Amman for the year 2004 is 201,545 (DoS, 2006)), incorporating these groups into our research, with their respective complex histories and contribution to the cultural processes in Amman, would require resources beyond the capacity of this thesis. And so we limit our survey population to Jordan nationals (holders of

a Jordanian citizenship). Thirdly: in regard to age, the survey targets groups starting with young adulthood - above 15 years old, and aims at reflecting the age group sizes as they occur in the society of Amman. In a city where the median age is 21.5 years, this leads to the exclusion of 35.1% of the population of Amman from the survey. And finally, in regard to gender, the survey population aims to reflect the gender percentage as occurring in the society of Amman, namely 51% males vs. 49% females (DoS, 2006). In short, the survey population consists of all Jordanian nationals who reside in Amman, and are older than 15 years old.

b. Sampling frame:

The sampling frame applied in this survey is the administrative divisions of “areas” within the limits of Greater Amman. This frame was also used for the real-estate values survey. The sample is derived from data provided by the (Population and Residences Census of 2004). Population numbers and densities for each area were obtained from GAM and sample sizes were linked for each area to the size of its population in relation to the city.

A note of caution should be made in relation to censuses and statistics in Jordan: the guidelines for statistics are often not clearly stated and the resulting numbers sometimes differ even when they refer the same census conducted by the same authority. At other times, issues of political representation interfere with statistics, underplaying the numbers of certain groups of population or dropping them altogether. For example for defining the number of households in the governorate of Amman, two numbers are provided by the Department of Statistics as result of the 2004 census: 414,800 (DoS, 2004) and 382,674 (DoS, 2006). In another instance, the number of Arab residents in Jordan is underestimated, for example the census of 2004 states that there are 40,084 Iraqi residents in Jordan (DoS, 2004), while a study conducted in 2007 in collaboration between the FAFO Research Foundation and the DoS found that number to be about 400,000-500,000 (Fafo & UNFPA, 2007). This high increase in the number is probably not due to an actual increase in population, but due to an underestimation in the former census. On the other hand, the census does not hold any mention of Egyptian nationals residing in Jordan at all, of whom there are thousands working in Amman alone; supporting the construction industry and low-skilled labour needs.

To resolve this issue, the statistics utilised in this research will be the ones used in the standard practice of research companies in Jordan (and put towards such statistics as electoral polls and studies related to work force, youth and gender issues, etc.). These figures are provided by the Jordan Centre for Social research. Overall, the differences in official statistical findings do not tangibly affect the substance of final results, as the sample size will be chosen as an absolute and not a relative number, as explained below.

c. Sample size:

Several considerations should be taken into account when selecting a sample size for a survey; the most important being considerations of precision and cost (Crano & Brewer, 2002). Precision in statistical analysis is a direct indicator of our capability to generalise the results to the population of the survey (in this case the population of Amman) and depends on the amount of acceptable standard error, which in social sciences is generally set at 5% (meaning that the results of the analysis apply to 95% of the population) (Bryman, 2001).

Calculating sample size is also affected by the nature of variables examined in the survey, as the analyses of parametric (numerical/ quantitative) variables can employ measures of central tendency (mean, median and mode) and dispersion (range, variance and central deviation); these measures are not directly applicable to non-parametric (qualitative) variables, which constitute the majority of variables examined in our survey. Calculating the sample size for a survey of non-parametric variables depends on the margin of error that we accept in our findings, and not on the size of the survey population. So for example, if the survey found that 52.9% of the sample state their perceived identity as “Religious,” we can be certain, within 95% confidence level, that within the larger population the people who identify as “Religious” will range between 49.8% and 55.9% or approximately 3% around the original percentage. Although margin errors will not be stated generally in the analysis discussion, the following table summarises the margin errors for frequency percentages of intervals of 5% for the sample of 1,000:

	Percentage	Or Percentage	Margin of error
1.	5%	95%	1.3%
2.	10%	90%	1.9%
3.	15%	85%	2.2%
4.	20%	80%	2.5%
5.	25%	75%	2.7%
6.	30%	70%	2.8%
7.	35%	65%	3%
8.	40%	60%	3%
9.	45%	55%	3%
10.	50%	50%	3%

Table 2-5: Summary of margins of error for frequency percentages ranging from 5% to 100% on an interval of 5% to be used for reference in the discussion of frequencies analysis in following chapters.

Examining the relationship between the margin of error and the sample size also helps in justifying the sample size of the research. Table 2-6 shows the maximum expected margins of error for sample sizes ranging from 10 to 5,000. Choosing the size of the survey sample in this case is dependent on achieving the least margin of error possible within the given financial, time and organisational constraints. I was able to acquire a generous grant from the Urban Workshop Ltd. for the conduction of this survey, which allowed for the selection of a sample of one thousand persons. And it can be seen from the table below that reducing the margin of error further would have not justified the cost associated with increasing the size of the sample.

	Sample size	Margin of error for 50% frequency
1.	10	30.9%
2.	100	9.8%
3.	500	4.3%
4.	1,000	3%
5.	5,000	1.3%

Table 2-6: Comparison of margin of errors for several sample sizes at frequencies of 50%.

Non-response rate is another important consideration to bear in mind when choosing the sample size, as it has to be factored in to compensate for failure of potential respondents to participate for any reason (Bryman, 2001). However, in this survey, and due to

misunderstanding in the process of outsourcing the survey, the response rate was set to 100%, and the non-response rate was not documented. Although knowing the non-response rate would have been helpful to establish the willingness of the population to participate in research, not knowing it does not affect the analysis.

d. Sampling process:

The population targeted by this survey is heterogeneous, thus it is important to select a sampling method that would represent the population as correctly as possible. The method used is probability sampling, specifically - “stratified cluster sampling” and is conducted in two stages.

- The first stage consists of deriving the strata from the sampling frame. This would ensure that the sample was dispersed across the city according to the relative density of population of each stratum, leading to a smaller standard error. As Bryman (2001) states: “stratification injects an extra increment of precision into the probability sampling process, since a possible source of sampling error is eliminated.” The sampling frame, as mentioned above, consists of the administrative divisions of Greater Amman into “areas,” and is based on the population census of 2004. The metropolitan area of Greater Amman is divided into 27 areas of different size and population density. For practicality reasons the 27 areas are reduced into 20 sampling strata, whereby some of the lesser populated areas are combined with adjacent more populated areas.
- For considerations of practicality, time and cost, the samples derived per each stratum are clustered. Each cluster consists of 10 respondents, whereby only one respondent is accepted per household. Thus, the second stage consists of deriving the number of sample clusters for each stratum. The sample size per each stratum is derived according to the formula:

$$\text{Sample size of given stratum} = 1000 \left(\frac{\text{stratum population}}{\text{total city population}} \right)$$

The sample sizes calculated from the population numbers per each stratum are detailed below in Table 2-7. These numbers are rounded off to nearest 10, in order to produce the number of clusters. The number of households per stratum is incorporated in the round-off procedure, as for example in stratum number 5 (Al-Qweismeh, Abu Alanda, Al-Juwaideh, Al-Raqeem), the population to household ratio is quite high indicating large family sizes, thus the adjusted sample was reduced to account for that circumstance. A weighting correction will be introduced where needed during analysis to compensate for the round-off.

After deriving the number of required clusters per each stratum, each cluster is to be represented by a city block³. The blocks are randomly selected (with the aid of a

³Defined by DoS as “a group of buildings that form a residential conglomeration or part of a residential conglomeration, which has man-made boundaries such as roads, alleys, stairs, electricity

randomisation software) from the total number of blocks present in each stratum. In the event that non-response leads to the incompleteness of sample size per cluster, a new block is drawn randomly from the stratum again to be surveyed.

The ratio of gender is controlled per each cluster (at 1/1), but the selection of age group per respondent is randomised. This is achieved by introducing a random selection matrix at the beginning of each questionnaire to guide towards the selection of a random member of the household of a specific gender.

The following table shows the exact numbers for the process of derivation of sample sizes for each of the 20 strata of the city.

#	Stratum	Number of households as per 2004 census	Population as supplied by GAM (as per 2004 census)	Calculated sample size per stratum	Adjusted sample size per stratum	Number of clusters
1	Al-Madinah	8,141	32,478	18	20	2
2	Basman	41,143	206,011	117	120	12
3	Al-Nasser	25,143	129,780	74	70	7
4	Al-Yarmouk	29,474	139,788	80	80	8
5	Al-Qweismeh, Abu Alanda, Al-Juwaideh, Al-Raqeem	24,761	165,228	94	60	6
6	Ras Al-A'in	17,555	88,749	51	50	5
7	Bader	25,916	125,726	72	70	7
8	Umm Gseir, Muqabelein, Al-Bnayat	6,736	36,325	21	20	2
9	Zahran	12,595	61,429	35	40	4
10	Al-Abdali	17,659	102,822	59	50	5
11	Marka	17,548	78,427	45	50	5
12	Tareq	9,594	48,726	28	30	3
13	Al-Jubeiha	13,952	52,877	30	40	4
14	Tla' Al-Ali, Umm Al-Summaq, Khalda	51,044	115,604	66	70	7
15	Wadi El-Seer and Bader Al-Jadidah	26,826	139,227	79	80	8
16	Sweileh	12,348	65,662	37	40	4
17	Abu Nseir and Shifa Badran	4,768	39,660	23	20	2
18	Sahab, Uhud and Mwaggar	7,415	43,779	25	20	2
19	Khreibet Al-Souq, Jawa and Yadoudeh, Jizeh,	13,865	37,243	21	40	4

and telephone poles, rail-tracks, etc. or natural easily distinguishable boundaries such as mountains, rivers, valleys”(DoS, 2004).

	Hisban and Umm el-Basatin					
20	Na'our and Marj Al-Hamam	8,996	46,278	26	30	3
	Total	375,479	1,755,819	1,000	1,000	100

Table 2-7: This table shows the 20 strata of sampling, the number of households, population, derived sample size and the number of clusters per each stratum.

The survey was organised by the researcher in collaboration with “Jordan Center for Social Research.” The surveyor team consisted of 25 people, who were briefed on the questionnaire; comments and remarks contributed during the briefing session were incorporated in the final draft of the questionnaire. The survey started on 21/6/2009 and lasted for 7 days, whereby the surveyors were divided into 5 groups to cover the whole of the area of the sample frame. I accompanied the surveying groups for two days in supervisory capacity. The survey ran its course successfully and at the end all members of the team were debriefed for their observations and further comments regarding the questionnaire and the cooperation of the respondents. The data resulting from the survey was input into SPSS format by the research centre.

The survey produced extensive findings which form one of the most important contributions of original data in this research and are employed to explore the applicability of the research rationale and assumptions in the context of the case study. The data resulting from the survey was processed using SPSS 17.0. Having been entered into an SPSS document by the research company, it required further recoding, weighting and analysis. For a full description of survey process, feedback, variable recoding and handling refer to Annex 3.

2.4.3.3. Summary of statistical analysis

Having gathered and processed the results of the survey, the next step is to conduct statistical analyses to uncover the existence and strength of relationships between variables. For the types of variables to be examined in this research, which are mostly categorical and ordinal, specific tests apply in terms of statistical analysis.

Statistical procedures in this research have three main objectives:

1. examining the frequencies at which the variables and their categories occur;
2. searching for significant associations among dependent and independent variables and compare these relationships;
3. examining the associations in detail.

The research employs two statistical approaches to examine data: descriptive and inferential. Descriptive statistics focus on summarising the findings in the form of frequencies, and crosstabulating variables in order to observe internal frequencies of occurrence (counts) and how they compare to frequencies of the phenomenon occurring at random via the analysis of “adjusted standardised residuals.” Crosstabulation leads to another approach in statistics, that of inference – attempting to establish which associations, if any, can be generalised to the survey population – the whole population of the city of Amman. To find these associations and determine their strength we use Chi-Square test to determine the existence of correlations and derive the Cramer’s V value to

establish and compare their strength. The process of statistical analysis and its underlying concepts are explained in detail in Annex 4.

To summarise the analysis of associations between the variables I produced a matrix of Cramer V's values in which all of the three groups of variables (responses to questions), amounting to 46 dependent variables are tested for correlation against all of the 15 independent variables; additionally, the group of variables representing aspects of identity are tested against themselves. The matrix tests the resulting 930 pairs of variables for associations and indicates the lack of a statistically significant association with the letter (N – "No association"), while for pairs with a significant association, Cramer's V value is listed. The matrix also provides descriptive data for the associations, such as the sum of counts of significant associations for each variable, maximum Cramer's V value for each variable, the sum and the average of Cramer's V values for each variable, and the percentage of statistically significant associations out of all associations for each variable and for each group of variables. Full details of the matrix and the preliminary findings resulting from the analysis are detailed in Annex 5. In order to ease the flow of narrative, retain focus on discussions relevant to the research questions, and handle successfully the vast volume of data produced, the findings are incorporated as needed to support the arguments in the thesis, while most of the statistical analysis and tabulations is relegated to the annexes.

2.4.4. Photographic documentation and interviews

Presenting al-Balad visually in this research is important in order to involve the reader and connect her imagination with the narrative. For this purpose, the place is documented in photographs, aiming to capture its characteristics, its fabric and people in their flux. Several images adapted from other sources are also used and documented accordingly. Many of the used images are of historical nature, taken at the first half of the twentieth century, documenting the city in the period of the Emirate. It is interesting to note that the emphasis in many of these images is on the material fabric of the city: buildings and urban fabric, and pay limited attention to the people. This may be partially attributed to the fact that these photographers were influenced by interest in archaeology or architecture, both of which disciplines focus on the material, and whose practitioners were pioneers in documenting the history of the city and calling for its conservation.

Numerous interviews were conducted in the course of fieldwork (49 interviews in the period 2007-2009); some were to receive guidance regarding the development of heritage conservation in Jordan; some concerned with the divergent identities of social groups which constitute the society of Amman; and others to obtain the narrative of the people whom this research attempts to represent. In several instances the interviews were conducted with official representatives working in the field of heritage preservation in governmental and private institutions in Jordan. The material gathered from these interviews guided the construction of research narrative, and complimented the arguments. However, due to the structural nature of the research, and the attempt to produce results that could be inferred to the whole of the society of Amman, as well as the effort required for a critical analysis of the discourse of interviews, the material gathered from interviews is limited to the use in place of absent literature, and the focus remains on the quantitative methods, such as mapping and the questionnaire survey.

2.5. Objectively researching a subjective topic: discussing questions of validity, inference, credibility, bias and ethics

2.5.1. Research validity and methodological limitations

Researching subjective concepts such as heritage and identity requires special attention to issues such as validity, credibility and the capability of inferring the results to a wider context. According to Miller (2008), validity of research “refers broadly to the ‘goodness’ or the ‘soundness’ of a study,” and is considered an “essential indicator of research quality in the positivist/postpositivist tradition.” The concept of validity is applicable to both the quantitative and qualitative methods; in quantitative research validity is centred on the notions of reliability, objectivity and generalisability, while in qualitative research validity is centred on notions of trustworthiness, credibility, authenticity and transferability (Miller, 2008).

The framework of the research on hand dictates a specific approach to methodology: it is a research of subjective concepts (heritage and identity) on the structural level of the society. I attempt to explain a phenomenon (the contradiction of the condition of al-Balad) by revealing associations and trends in the process of construction of heritage and identity. To this end, quantitative methods are employed to reveal the associations, and qualitative methods to establish causality. Validity of measurement is more straightforward for quantitative methods such as mapping –which uses numeric measures of currency and pre-defined geographical boundaries, but less so for the questionnaire survey, where the variables are mainly ordinal or categorical and in many instances measure subjective attitude. This confines the research and analysis to certain procedures and limits findings to certain credible conclusions. But the important point here is to be transparent about what is being measured: subjective perceptions. It is important to understand that several variables come into play when a person is questioned about his or her position on identity, or belonging. They form a synthesis of the person’s perceptions; of the persons imagination of what the “ideal” social norms are; and of the persons desire to align or misalign him or herself with the views he or she imagines the researcher expects. But it is precisely this synthesis that the research explores. Examination of meaning pushes it beyond the positivist tradition into the realm of postmodern thinking, which acknowledges the possibility of multiple realities, and the social construction of meaning. The quantitative methods, especially the survey, also pursue external validity – the ability to infer from findings to the whole of the population of Amman, and employ statistical tests that reveal generalisable findings according to a margin of error accepted in social research. However, due to the nature of the variables, internal validity (or causal validity) is absent; although quantitative methods reveal significant associations and trends, they do not reveal if these trends cause one another; to establish causality theoretical frameworks are employed.

As for the generalisability or transferability of qualitative findings and conclusions, it can be assessed on several broad and narrow levels; on its narrowest, the research presents an examination of the situation of the practice of national heritage and its links to identity, in the specific context of al-Balad in Amman as applicable to the first decade of the 2000s. On a wider level, the problem discussed in this research is not particular to Amman, it can be

observed in the historical centres in cities of numerous countries. Therefore, several lessons can be taken on processes linked to the conceptualisation of heritage, fragmentation of collective identities and the rise of Islamist and global consumerist identities, as well as other insights into the processes of transformation of the meaning of space, and the manipulation of spatial meaning by the State, authorities and the users.

Credibility of research is considered parallel to validity and implies an accurate and consistent representation of data (Given & Saumure, 2008). Jensen (2008) defines it as “the methodological procedures and sources used to establish a high level of harmony between the participant’s expressions and the researcher’s interpretation of them.” Credibility involves selecting the appropriate participants, appropriate data selection methodologies and allowing for a correct interpretation of the participants responses (Jensen, Credibility, 2008). In this research the credibility is sought by looking at data from different angles and via a triangulation of methods. In addition to the constant advice and critique of my supervisor, the research sought numerous other sources of credibility. In the survey, several questions of the questionnaire were left open ended to allow for the respondents actual wording and opinion to come through. The course of the survey itself was conducted based on much advice extended by Dr. Musa Shtewi, lecturer of social sciences at the University of Jordan with ample experience in conducting qualitative studies in Jordan, and the surveying team. The sequence of logic and the hypothesis of the research were explained to selected “experts” on the issues of identity and heritage for opinion and approval. The sections of research concerned with building a framework based on semiotics was explained to a semiotics specialist – Dr. Mazen Asfour, a lecturer in the arts at the University of Jordan, to address any inconsistencies in reasoning, or any difference in application that might arise from dealing with the Arabic language. The statistical reasoning and performed tests were approved by Mrs. Jane Galbraith, a statistics advisory, from the Department of Statistical Science, University College London. The researcher also attended several postgraduate courses conducted by UCL on the subject of statistical analysis. At the end of the fieldwork, a summary of research was presented to a committee of municipal advisors working on rehabilitating the downtown and heritage place in Amman headed by the Mayor of Amman, Mr. Omar al-Maani. In its every step – especially those diverging from the researcher’s specialisation- the research studiously sought credibility, confirmation, and relevance.

Overall, achieving research validity was an important objective during the course of research on both its quantitative and qualitative levels, and is upheld by best attempts to maintain explicit transparency, methodological consistency, approaching analysis and interpretation in a manner that would serve avoiding personal bias and reflects participants’ own points of view.

2.5.2. Bias in research

Bias in research implies predisposition or partiality (Ogden, 2008) and is one of the main concerns that may jeopardise research validity. Bias may compromise accurate sampling and data collection, interpretation and reporting of findings. Bias can lead to choosing one topic over the other, excluding certain research questions, or silencing certain voices which are deemed insignificant. The tradition of positivist sciences insists that researchers employ

impartial objectivity by remaining neutral and using scientific methods. However, as observed by Becker (1998), researchers are a product of their social context, and are thus not value free. Even the most objective of the positivist methods involves choice – of one method over another, of certain theories or research questions. Therefore, the researcher must accept the inevitable presence of bias, and manage it by being self aware of own values and assumptions; transparent and explicit in method and interpretation of findings; and by following the numerous established measures of validity in her research (Ogden, 2008).

In this research, the possibility of bias emerged on several levels and in several instances. The first and foremost potential source of bias was the researcher's – my⁴ relationship to the context. Having spent the larger bulk of my life in Jordan, I have been surely conditioned by the experience of growing up as a female in a middle-class, somewhat conservative, non-religious, and not-very-social family of a descent that is part Ukrainian, and part Circassian (an ethnic minority of relatively esteemed social standing in Jordan) that is very keen on education. Studying your own country also entails several major effects. The positive of these effects is knowledge of context, language, social relations and a relative ease of access to sources of information. My previous academic and professional work on heritage architecture and downtown as part of the city also facilitated noticing the problem of this research and facilitated access to people, information and funding. The negative effect of this position is a crippling blindness to certain contextual aspects, and potential bias towards certain interpretations and attitudes that are naturalised in the socio-cultural context of Jordan and Amman. But how can one transform contextual rooting from an obstacle to a resource?

Although my contextual rooting allowed for the initial expansion on the problem and certain intuitions towards the possible directions the research could take, there was a need to build a theoretical and an analytical framework, which would provide an inclusive, critical and unbiased basis for the research. From the beginning, the aim of the research was exploratory – it attempted to understand the problem instead of trying to prove or disprove a certain hypothesis. When the hypothesis did emerge – it was based on historical investigation into the construction of the concept of heritage. An analytical framework built on linguistic concepts and on the theory of communication allowed for an analytical framework that was inclusive of all potential factors to be examined by the research. From here, in order to strengthen the development studies aspect and building on the critical approach proposed by the works of thinkers the analytical framework was based on, the theoretical framework continued the multi-disciplinary critical approach by examining the relationships of space, meaning, society and the interplay of power with the purpose of unveiling patterns of cultural hegemony and allowing for contradictory voices to emerge. Thus, by allowing for inclusive and multi-disciplinary frameworks to guide the research, and acknowledging the importance of contradiction, dissonance and the voice of minorities, the presence of bias was averted in the process of research theorising and design.

In terms of the used fieldwork methods the possibility of bias emerged in several instances: the first involved the selection of methods, whereby neither the quantitative nor the

⁴ The use of the first person here is for the purpose of revealing the biased self.

qualitative methods would have been completely useful on their own, this was averted by using a triangulation of methods. The second instance involved the interpretive moments in both the qualitative and the quantitative methods (coding for example). Although the interpretation produced in the course of research is one of several possible interpretations, the research attempted to make all assumptions and procedures explicit and transparent, in order to allow the reader to follow their logic. In terms of sampling, the most rigorous probability sampling method allowed by the nature of social inquiry, while maintaining the representativeness of the wider population was used – the random stratified cluster sampling method. The largest possible sample was surveyed, and some of the bias resulting from the deviation occurring in field was resolved by using weighting during statistical analysis. Although this method of sampling and analysis does incur a certain level of statistical bias (for example cluster sampling leads to a reduction in randomness, and weighting is only possible according to one variable in SPSS analysis), it is deemed acceptable in social sciences.

2.5.3. Ethics in research

Ethics are frameworks that guide decision-making or relationship dynamics and are based on a number of principles, such as justice, duty and consequence (Preissle, 2008). These principles entitle individuals to certain expectations of treatment based primarily on their humanity, and have been developed and endorsed by several institutions, for example in the 1948 United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This principle asserts that in research participants have a right to liberty, including the liberty to refuse participation in research; and a right to privacy, which entitles participants to have control over their private information and in turn anonymity.

This research pursued the intent of integrity and ethical conduct in all of its stages. In data representation, analysis, interpretation, method and frameworks formulation I have attempted to achieve the most possible level of transparency, explicit explanations of assumptions, acknowledgement of bias and accurate representation of participants' opinions. Where the research called for direct interaction with participants in the form of the survey or interviews diligence was applied in obtaining an informed consent of participation after a clear explanation of the research purpose and possible outcomes. In the case of the survey, all participants were guaranteed anonymity, and offered the possibility of sharing the information if they so desired. In the case of individual interviews, which were audio-recorded, an explicit consent of the interviewee was obtained regarding the recording and the use of their name. Whenever photographs were taken of individuals or their possessions, their explicit consent was also sought.

Meta-ethics on the other hand, are the principles that underlie ethical decisions, and the assumptions made about moral theories (Preissle, 2008). Although the normative ethics of this research conform to the concepts of research ethics at University College London, which originate from the ideas of the European Enlightenment, the meta-ethics that underlie this research take a critical approach towards conventional European thinking and follow an approach that accepts that cultures vary in ideologies, and there should be a consideration for cultural relativism in theorising research. This issue arises especially in relation to discussing the effect of modernity on the society of Jordan, and particularly the

contradictions that arise when modern manners of thought and values collide with their traditional counterparts. For example, most of the Western references on Jordanian traditional society regard that society as backward, corrupt and on the way to extinction. Alternatively, another way of regarding these societies, as indeed some of the references do, is steeped in historically continuous sustainable traditions, with strong social networking and security nets, and transformative. The difference of view arises from ideological relativity: the first point is one aligned with Westernised Modernity and its principles and measures, while the latter is aligned with the ideas of Post-colonialism, which recognises the futility and injustice of studying traditional societies in bulk, in what has been known as Orientalism, instead of contextualising and localising the research, giving importance for local voices and scholarships and first-hand research based on the logic and measurements intrinsic to local mindsets (Said, 2003). In this sense, this research follows Edward Said's approach. It accepts the importance of local customs and traditions and takes a critical view towards the Modernisation implicit in the practices under study, or the methods of analysis. In its analysis the research attempts to remain value-neutral. Value-judgements, guided by the ethics of post-colonialism and which remain to some extent subjective, are limited to conclusions, which is at the end of the day the researcher's informed and justified contribution to knowledge.

2.6. Translation, transliteration and transmission of concepts between the Arabic and English languages

Researching a topic in two languages poses specific challenges. On one hand, the university at which the research is conducted, the majority of literature, the thesis, the context where the theoretical concepts are developed and even the design of the questionnaire for the survey are all conducted and communicated, or translated into the English language. On the other hand, this research explores primarily how a relationship to heritage is developed in an Arab country, and the Arab language is the primary means of fieldwork, the questionnaire, newspaper articles surveyed for the purpose of topic analysis, some literature, and the input received from interaction and interviews. The possibility of discrepancy of meaning and linguistic connotations is addressed on several levels throughout the research to achieve a narrative that aligns the meaning intended in both languages and present it in the English language.

Firstly, the central concepts in this thesis, such as heritage, identity, tradition, and even the name of the case study are all critically defined. In fact, defining these concepts forms a substantial part of the thesis. In order to reach a critical definition, I deconstruct the concepts semantically, conceptually, and attempt to supplement their meaning in practice by findings from the fieldwork. So for example, the concept of heritage, in Chapter Four, is first defined semantically, and then conceptually by deriving its idealist form against its realistic form from literature and discourse. The equivalent of the concept of heritage in Arabic – *turath* – is a newly introduced term in its relevant meaning, and so I choose to strip away the complex connotations attached to the term "heritage" and define it as a "relationship with the past." Upon exploring the popular meaning of heritage conceived by the people of Amman, the term "tradition" emerged, and was extremely useful in

highlighting and challenging certain different connotations of the two terms in the specific context of Jordan.

A similar process is conducted when choosing the appropriate terminology for the case study al-Balad, as discussed above, whereby other possible terms are proposed and critiqued. In relation to other concepts, such as identity, or “hawiyah” in Arabic, the differences of connotation between the two languages is addressed to a lesser extent, while the concept itself is defined according to its occurrence in literature and in relation to concepts central to this thesis such as modernity. In order to avoid confusion regarding this term in the fieldwork, it was explained to the respondents while conducting the survey.

Another instance of linguistic difference that needed to be addressed in the research is the circumstances of construction of the semiotic framework, which was originally developed to frame the construction of meaning in European languages (primarily French and English), and this research presented an opportunity to explore the applicability of this framework in Arabic. The lack of original research on the issue in Arabic led me to discussing the framework with Dr. Mazen Asfour (Professor of Arts), and achieving an understanding that despite the framework’s origin in the field of linguistics, it actually addresses the cultural aspect of meaning construction, and is thus not perceivably affected by linguistic differences.

The instances of translation in the narrative, when quoting or paraphrasing, attempt to retain as closely as possibly the original meaning and mannerism of speech. As for translating the questionnaire to and from Arabic, the process was mitigated and critiqued by the research team (consisting of more than 25 researchers) who helped in clarifying the meaning intended by the used terminology, and to convey it to the respondents in an appropriate manner. My active participation in the survey, and debriefing the researchers facilitated the avoidance of discrepancies of meaning. Further discussion on this process is detailed in Annex 3.

In the course of the narrative, Arabic transliteration has been used for all Arabic proper nouns and place names in keeping with a modified form of the International Journal of Middle East Studies system, with no special diacriticals used for any letters, and only the letters *hamza* and *ain* are marked by an ‘. The definite article al- is used for proper names as appropriate, but is substituted with el- according to its use in the Jordanian dialect, and all of the transliterated Arabic words in this narrative follow the pronunciation used in Amman.

Chapter Three: the spatialisation of heritage as a construct of meaning

3.1. Introduction

So far, the thesis has defined the research problem and proposed an exploration of the three potential sources of contradictions that cause the problem to manifest. It also defined the case study and proposed a multi-strategy of quantitative and qualitative methods, with a focus on gathering original objective data.

In the following chapters the research addresses each of the three sources of contradiction and attempts to contextualise them in al-Balad using the data and findings of the fieldwork. Beginning by exploring the processes of meaning construction in relation to heritage, and the role of power dynamics in skewing this meaning, the thesis then progresses to defining the concept of heritage and challenging some of its characteristics and their applicability to the context, and then attempts to produce an understanding of the actors and voices contributing to heritage construction in Jordan and how the meaning of heritage is constructed in the space of al-Balad.

In the course of this chapter, the narrative examines the dynamics of power in the cultural production of heritage and investigates numerous approaches to theoretical analysis of the phenomenon in space, ultimately producing a semiotic framework for analysis based on the synthesis of several theories. This framework is applied throughout the research to provide an objective structural understanding of a process that involves subjective meaning.

3.2. Heritage as a resource in cultural power dynamics

3.2.1. Problems resulting from the power dynamics of heritage

Like every cultural product, heritage is subject to the power dynamics of its socio-political context. Desire for control in the construction of identity and its legitimisation via establishing a relationship with the past inevitably leads to problems of elitism and marginalisation. The use of heritage as a resource in tourism and the “heritage industry” furthers the dynamics of objectification and the top-down construction of meaning associated with market commodities. These dynamics include a reflection of social class division, since heritage tourism involves a disproportionate segment of middle and upper classes (Merriman, 1991), (Prentice, 2005), subsequently leading to a process of gentrification and the marginalisation of the working class and the poor (Urry, 1995).

Smith (2006) argues that the rise of the elitist nature of heritage has been especially observed in the case of post-war Britain, where mobilisation of interest in the preservation of heritage was largely focused on certain versions of the past, for example as manifested

in country houses and manors (Wright, 1985), (Wright, 1991). Heritage was made to portray history as “safe, sterile and shorn of danger, subversion and seduction” (Urry, 1996). This trend became synonymous with right wing Thatcherist social and cultural control, and free-market enterprise (Dicks, 2000), (Corner & Harvey, 1991), and was regarded as part of a politically conservative backlash to prevent cultural and social change (Lowenthal, 1985), (Hewison, 1987), (Walsh, 1992).

This trend is not limited to Britain or Europe, as it extended to the United States and Australia resulting in identity conflicts with indigenous groups; conflicts that are often not limited to issues of narrative or symbolic meaning but extend to claims of sovereignty over land, economical and social resources (Smith, 2004). Furthermore, these conflicts extend to the realm of the developing world as a result of the global expansion of tourism; financial aid being granted by the developed to the developing countries for the purposes of economical development, which includes developing the tourism sector; and as a result of shaping the concepts of heritage and tourism by the developed countries of the West via the institutionalisation of these concepts by organisations such as UNESCO, ICOMOS and the WTO.

3.2.2. Understanding the power dynamics of heritage

Understanding the problems that result from the process of constructing heritage and its practice requires a critical analysis of the process on several levels ranging from the general strategies used in the process of cultural production on the level of society, to strategies more specific to framing the past in the shape of heritage. On the most general level, the strategies used to perpetuate cultural power dynamics in the construction of heritage can be summed by the concepts of Foucault’s “governmentality” (Foucault, 1991), Gramsci’s “cultural hegemony” (Gramsci, 1934) and the concept of agency.

The concept of governmentality can be summarised in the state’s endeavour to govern the “conduct of the conduct” of population. This is applied in the field of heritage through shaping the ideas and concepts that are articulated in discourse. To achieve this the bureaucratic state employs the minds and services of the “experts” in the field from archaeologists, historians, architects, etc., who no longer remain a mere stakeholder in the use of heritage, but become involved in shaping the essence of knowledge and building the “epistemological frameworks” that define the direction of the discourse and the meaning of heritage (Smith, 2006). Thus, the experts and the state shape the thought process about heritage in its active and reactive forms, and produce a “favourable” heritage “experience” (Urry, 1990). This often involves enabling a sanitised version of history (Smith, Clarke & Allcock, 1992), (Hollinshead, 1997), (Waitt, 2000), (Rowan & Baram, 2004); and utilises tactics such as “pseudo-events” (Boorstin, 1964), and “staged authenticity” (MacCannell, 1999) to portray heritage in a superficial manner. Tourism is used as a vehicle for perpetuating this form of heritage and its use as means of social control is further discussed by (Hewison, 1987), (Hollinshead, 1999), (Coleman & Crang, 2002). The state and the experts have an interest in upholding their position of privilege in terms of claims of knowledge and expertise through cultural hegemony.

The concept of cultural hegemony posits that the powerful classes strive to maintain power through normalising their values and ideologies and making them “common sense” for the rest of society (Gramsci, 1934). This is made possible by institutionalising these values via

legislations, bureaucracy and education on the level of the state. On the level of the society, this is achieved by constructing a dominant symbolic capital that directs social taste and consumption desires (Bourdieu, 1984); the elite legitimise their values by making them appear “normal,” “objective,” or by producing what Barthes’s (1957) conceptualises as the “myth.”

Dynamics of propagating the authorised discourse of heritage are not limited to the practice of tourism and the heritage industry, but are deeply embedded in the process of its institutionalisation, as shown in the previous chapter. As Smith (2006) argues, this is achieved through processes of “disengagement.” On one level the disengagement happens by defining who the legitimate spokespersons for the past are, against those who are not. This is achieved by using abstract concepts (such as “the past”) and vague statements, which render heritage “subject to the judgement of experts such as archaeologists and historians.” Abstract concepts and vague statements “when used to discuss and define heritage, disengage us from the very real emotional and cultural work that the past does as heritage for individuals and communities. The past is not abstract; it has material reality as heritage” (Smith, 2006).

While defining the experts, disengagement happens by alienating the user or the public by conceptualising them as passive, empty vessels (Mason, 2004, 2005). Heritage is something to be “engaged with passively,” for example through the means of the gaze “in which the audience will uncritically consume the message of heritage constructed by heritage experts” (Smith, 2006). The assumption of the passiveness of the consumer, or what can be known as “‘glass case’ display mentality” has been critiqued and discussed in literature (e.g. (Merriman, 1991) & (Hall and McArthur, 1996)).

Another level of propagation occurs through disengaging the present. The current generation (the experts) are considered to be “stewards” of the past, as it is “inevitably saved for ‘future generations’” thus disengaging the present from an active use of heritage. “In disempowering the present from actively rewriting the meaning of the past, the use of the past to challenge and rewrite cultural and social meaning in the present becomes more difficult” (Smith, 2006).

On the other hand, it is important to remember that heritage is a “means,” and just as it may be used to perpetuate hegemony and power relations, it can also be used as a means for rejecting and challenging these dynamics (Graham, 2002). This can be witnessed in literature; for unlike the literature that focuses on the expression of nationalising uses of heritage, literature focusing on heritage in relation to identity of class, ethnicity, gender, and regional and national communities allows for the emergence of a “sense of conscious agency in the expression of identity” (Smith, 2006).

The objective so far has been to reveal the contradictions latent in conceptualising a dominant definition of heritage, and some strategies used to perpetuate the dominance of the elite in the process. The focus of research is narrowed to an aspect of heritage as a means in identity building and on its condition as a construct of meaning. Now is the time to direct this thesis to an exploration of the way meaning becomes attached to space, and the methods to understand it, as well as exploring how this can be applied to the case study of al-Balad.

3.3. Theorising on the spatialisation of meaning

The use of term “spatialisation,” defined by Shields (1997) as: “the ongoing social construction of the spatial at the level of the social imaginary as well as interventions in the landscape,” allows for the naming of “an object of study which encompasses both the cultural logic of the spatial and its expression and elaboration in language and more concrete actions, constructions and institutional arrangements” (Shields, 1997). In this section I explore the concept of spatialisation; examine the shift of paradigms in thought on the subject of space and meaning; and attempt to understand how meaning becomes embodied in space and how this is affected by the social dynamics of power.

3.3.1. Relationship of meaning and space

Space was not always regarded as a vehicle of meaning. Hubbard et al. (2004) trace the evolution of the concept of spatialisation of meaning noting that until the 1970s human geographers considered space as a homogenous and neutral container filled in by independent directional and quantifiable human activity. The “Quantitative Revolution” of the time sought to restyle geography as a positivist social science geared towards statistical testing and theory building in order to construct predictive spatial models (for example in the work of geographers such as Torsten Hagerstrand, Waldo Tobler, Peter Haggett) (Hubbard, Kitchin & Valentine, 2004).

In the 1970s, the prominence of the historical and geographical materialism led to a shift in the interpretation of spatiality. The prevalence of time over space was challenged, leading to a revolution in spatial analysis evident in the work of Henri Lefebvre, Manuel Castells, Michel Foucault, and David Harvey (Clarno, 2006). Space became understood as a social construct, and much effort was dedicated to the study of space in the capitalist society, which culminated in the work of Henri Lefebvre in 1974. Lefebvre rejected the relativised abstract spaces of capitalism and proposed instead a “‘trialectics’ of spatiality, which explores the differential entwining of cultural practices, representations and imaginations... [it] is an account that sees space as ‘made-up’ through a three-way dialectic between perceived, conceived and lived space” (Hubbard, Kitchin & Valentine, 2004).

Space serving as a vehicle of meaning became known as “place.” Place represented a distinctive type of space that was defined by the lived experiences of people and was viewed as fundamental in expressing a sense of belonging and providing a locus of identity. Humanist geographers challenged the abstract approach to the analysis of place, and conceptualised it as subjectively defined (for example Christian Norberg-Schulz, David Lowenthal, Anne Buttimer, David Ley, Yi-Fu Tuan). Embodiment of meaning in space and the study of relationships between meaningful places and the body were brought about by the humanistic methods, whereby the focus shifted among the intuitive nature of inhabiting a place (the work of Nigel Thrift), the involvement of embodiment with class (e.g. Pierre Bourdieu), gender (e.g. Judith Butler) and race (e.g. bell hooks). Simultaneously, place became recognised as the locus of intersections and is constituted of economic, political and social power relations. In this sense there are many spatialities; places are relational and understood differently by different people (e.g. Doreen Massey) (Hubbard, Kitchin & Valentine, 2004).

Cultural geographers, on the other hand, endeavored to examine how the world is invested with cultural meanings. Place is thus culturally produced. This cultural turn provoked examination of two major problems: power and resistance played out in the everyday, and the politics of representation.

This notion was further re-articulated with the introduction of postmodern and poststructuralist perspectives. Los Angeles, which was heralded as an exemplary post-modern city, provoked such scholars as Michael Dear, Ed Soja, Michael Storper and Mike Davis, to argue that capital and culture have entwined to produce an entirely new city, characterised by de-centeredness and fragmentation, and where the categories of belonging are problematised, and the politics of difference take on heightened significance (Hubbard, Kitchin & Valentine, 2004). Abolishment of meta-narratives and emergence multi-vocality can also be traced in writings on post-colonial spatiality (e.g. Edward Said and Gayatri Spivak), where polarisation between the North and the South and the fluid identities of space are stressed (Hubbard, Kitchin & Valentine, 2004).

Globalisation too is examined as a transformative process in terms of spatialising meaning. Globalisation entwines the global and the local creating hybrids of meaning. The global space of flows (as defined by Manuel Castells) leads to the dissemination of standardised values, goods and lifestyles, thus undermining local identities. Yet, globalisation does not lead to the homogenisation of space. For example David Harvey examines the manner in which places are constructed and experienced as material artifacts, stressing that the specificity of place is crucial in perpetuating processes of capital accumulation. Scholars such as Peter Taylor and Saskia Sassen demonstrated that key world cities have become more important in a global era by being a strategic “place to be” for those who seek to control the global economy (Hubbard, Kitchin & Valentine, 2004).

3.3.2. Dynamics of power in the space of capitalism and the work of Henri Lefebvre

This research hinges on the idea that space is a social construct, it is social meaning embodied in the geographical dimension. In order to extract an analytical methodology from this concept, I go back to explore the ideas of Henri Lefebvre in more depth.

In *The Production of Space* (1974), Henri Lefebvre proposed a theory for the spatialisation of meaning by arguing that space is a social product, fundamental for the reproduction of society itself. Lefebvre was critical of the culture of capitalism for its production of abstract spaces devoid of social meaning, and for the commandment of a hegemonic class over the reproduction of space for the purpose of perpetuating the existing economic order.

In his work, Lefebvre attempted to establish a “unitary theory” which conceptualised the world in the shape of “fields,” apprehended separately but capable of unity. Lefebvre defined these fields as: 1) the physical: nature, the Cosmos; 2) the mental: including logical and formal abstractions; and 3) the social. He considered the social field to be “the space of social practice, the space occupied by social phenomena, including products of the imagination such as projects and projections, symbols and utopias” (Lefebvre, 1974). In his theory, he contended, social space will cease to be indistinguishable from mental space on the one hand, and physical space on the other. What Lefebvre sought to demonstrate is “that such a social space is constituted neither by a collection of things or an aggregate of

(sensory) data, nor by a void packed like a parcel with various contents, and that it is irreducible to a 'form' imposed upon phenomena."

Lefebvre then proceeded to question the manner in which meaning and symbolism became embodied in space, to construct a "spatial code" of meaning and a "system of space." His purpose for doing this was "to expose the actual production of space by bringing the various kinds of space and the modalities of their genesis together within a single theory" (Lefebvre, 1974). Lefebvre emerged with a conceptual triad that occurs in social space:

- 1) Spatial practice (the domain of perceived space – *l'espace perçu*): consists of contextualised production and reproduction of space. These practices ensure reproduction of the social order and guarantee a level of competence and performance. "The spatial practices of a society secrete that society's space; it produces it slowly and surely as it masters and appropriates it. From the analytical standpoint, the spatial practice of a society is revealed through the deciphering of the space."
- 2) Representations of space (the domain of conceived space – *l'espace conçu*): this is conceptualised space. It consists of specific representations of interactions between social relations of production and reproduction. The purpose of these representations is to maintain these social relations in a state of coexistence and cohesion. This is the dominant space in any society, which is invariably the realisation of a master's project. Conceptions of space tend towards a system of verbal signs.
- 3) Representational spaces (the domain of lived space – *l'espace vécu*): embody complex symbolisms. These spaces are directly lived through the associated images and symbols. This is the dominated and thus passively experienced space, which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate. The dominated space is closed, sterilised and emptied out. It overlays physical space making symbolic use of its objects. Thus, representational spaces tend towards more or less coherent systems of non-verbal symbols and signs. The concept of domination is contrasted with the concept of appropriation. Appropriation is sharply opposed to the concept of property; it can be defined as the modification of natural space by a group in order to serve the needs and possibilities of that group. Property in the sense of possession is not a prerequisite of appropriation.

Critiquing the space of capitalism and neocapitalism, Lefebvre introduced the notion of abstract space. He illustrated this space by exploring the historical town of the West and the countryside under its control: the productive activity (labor) was no longer one with the process of reproduction which perpetuated social life. Becoming independent of that productive process, labor became abstract – and the abstract space emerged. Abstract space took over historical space, which nevertheless lived on becoming the substratum or underpinning of representational spaces. Lefebvre argued that: "abstract space functions 'objectally,' as a set of things/signs and their formal relationships: glass and stone, concrete and steel, angles and curves, full and empty... The signification of this ensemble refers back to a sort of super-signification which escapes meaning's net." While in spatial practice the reproduction of social relations is predominant, "[t]he representation of space leaves only the narrowest leeway to representational spaces, which are limited to works, images and

memories whose content, whose sensory, sensual and sexual, is so far displaced that it barely achieves symbolic force.” Abstract space cannot be defined on the basis of what is perceived. It does not coincide neither with the abstraction of the sign nor with the abstraction of the concept; it operates negatively. Abstract space sets itself up as the space of power, which will eventually lead to its own dissolution because of its intrinsic contradictions. It appears to be a subject – an impersonal pseudo-subject, and hidden within it, concealed by its illusory transparency is the real subject (the actor) namely state power.

On the other hand, abstract space holds with itself two tendencies: while the old relations of production are dissolved, new ones are being generated. Thus, it holds within itself the potential for a new space: the differential space. Because inasmuch as abstract space strives towards homogeneity, a new space cannot be produced unless it accentuates differences.

The importance of Lefebvre’s work for this research lies partially in his stratification of space according to processes of meaning construction that embody it. Space, according to Lefebvre, ranges from the perceived space, in which meaning is built from practice slowly and incrementally to the point of lack of awareness, of taking the meaning for granted, whereby perception of meaning overwhelms its conception. To the conceived space, which is a product of total disembedded-ment of the process of production of meaning from its geographical location. Concepts do not need to be geographically grounded, and the meaning, or the narration of a place can be produced elsewhere. This leads, as Lefebvre argues, to the creation of the abstract space; a space that is used as a means in the perpetuation of cultural dominance. The idea of disembedded-ment has also been discussed by Giddens (1991), as he argued that the most defining characteristic of modernity, is that individuals and society, grow disembedded from space and time. This is a central idea in this research to be explored in more depth later.

3.4. Understanding how meaning is embodied in space: constructing an analytical framework

The discussion of the dynamics of power in embedding or disembedding meaning in space, and the proposition to apply Lefebvre’s ideas on space form the basis of the theoretical framework of this research; yet, there is also a need to provide an analytical framework, that would enable a deeper understanding of how Lefebvre’s theory manifests in practice, to analyse and unpack the notions of disembedded-ment and naturalisations used frequently in this research, and enable the application of this rationale to al-Balad. I begin by reviewing the approaches taken to understand how meaning is attached to space, and selecting the most suitable for this research.

3.4.1. Methodologies for the analysis of spatialisation of meaning

The two most prominent approaches that address this issue are cognitive geography and semiotics of place.

3.4.1.1. Cognitive geography

The field of cognitive geography relies heavily on the work of Kevin Lynch and the techniques employed by cognitive psychologists (Gottdiener & Lagopoulos, 1986). Lynch’s

"The image of the city" (1960) was the main source of inspiration for many American social scientists on the subject of meaning in the urban environment (e.g. (King & Colledge, 1978) despite the existence of earlier works on the subject (e.g. (Firey, 1945), (Tolman, 1948), (Wright, 1947), (Wohl & Strauss, 1958). Gottdiener and Lagopoulos (1986) explain that Lynch's approach represented a "watershed" in environmental planning and the architectural analysis of the city by its "reduction of urban imagery to the physical form and the stressing of legibility and spatial elements, such as paths, nodes, edges, and so on." Lynch's main means at extracting the meaning of the urban experience was through the use of mental mapping; it became the cornerstone of cognitive geography and "represents therefore the principal means... for researching signification in the city." Ultimately Lynch's work led to a more human approach to urban design, explicitly recognising the role of users in affecting urban space and inspired such influential planners as Donald Appleyard (Appleyard, 1970) (Gottdiener & Lagopoulos, 1986).

Nevertheless, Lynch's methods and cognitive mapping were heavily critiqued for using questionable methods of sampling and questionnaire techniques (Porteous, 1977); for relying on methodological individualism which accepts unquestioningly intra-subjective pictures of the environment as the basis of urban behavior, which results in conceptualising the signification of the city through the perception of its inhabitants rather than their conception. This point forms the fundamental divergence between cognitive geography and urban semiotics. Although Lynch and cognitive geographers acknowledged that the means by which the inhabitants of the city organise their behaviour are more fundamentally influenced by conceptual stimuli than mere formal perception, they nevertheless focused primarily on the perceptive articulation of meaning.

Lynch's approach and his overtly reliance on imageability was questioned by a variety of researchers (for example (Goody et al., 1971), (Sieverts, 1967), (Smith, 1974), (Golledge & Zannaras, 1976), (Pocock & Hudson, 1978), (Pipkin, 1983)). Ledrut (1973) also critiqued Lynch for his psycho-biological approach which does not acknowledge the human intellect and does not differentiate it from the animals. As Gottdiener and Lagopoulos (1986) sum, "the perceptual approach to the image of the city [fell] short as a means of analysing the symbolic nature of that image."

On the other hand, traditions building on cognitive geography remained strong. A synonymous discipline – environmental psychology – retained a fundamental focus on perception in understanding human spatial behaviour (e.g. (Stokols & Altman, 1987), (Lawson, 2001), (Bell et al., 2005)). Due to this epistemological focus, these disciplines do not provide a suitable framework for understanding the problem at hand; they do not provide a framework to understanding how humans conceptualise meaning.

3.4.1.2. Semiotics of place

To recap, so far I have established that space is a social construct, and that meaning becomes embodied in space in several manners ranging in manifestation between the two ends of the binary of perceived space and conceived space. In order to understand how meaning - the meaning of heritage specifically is embodied in space there is a need to locate a suitable analytical framework or methodology. Having discovered that cognitive geography does indeed provide a methodology for understanding spatialisation of meaning, but with a strong emphasis on the perceptive aspect, it is deemed unsuitable for

this research, since heritage is after all – a conceptual construct. What needed here is a framework that would look into how conceptualised meanings are spatialised.

The second analytical methodology to be discussed here is semiotics of place, with particular emphasis on Roland Barthes's concept of the "myth," combined with Baudrillard's concept of consumption and levels of value, which together not only show how meaning of concepts is spatialised, but also explain the difference and similarity between perceived and conceived constructs as well as locating the process in context.

The reason this methodology is applicable here is that it originally draws its rationale from linguistics (and political economics for Baudrillard), and provides tools for structural deconstruction and analysis for meaning, signification and the processes of their production. This supports the choice of a more positivist approach of this research which aims at supplementing the existing body of anthropological and ethnographic research on the subject of heritage and identity in Jordan by exploring generalise-able connections and causalities on the social level.

3.4.2. Semiotics

Semiotics, the study of the sign, in the form it appears here was developed by the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure in his *Course in General Linguistics* (1916) where he defined it¹ as "the science which studies the role of signs as part of social life" (Saussure, [1916] 1974). Saussure provided a dualistic framework for the study of the sign by defining it as a relationship between a signifier and a signified (Barthes, *Elements of semiology*, 1964). Among the numerous semioticians that emerged contemporarily and after Saussure, the most relevant to this research are Louis Hjelmslev, who developed the Saussurean system of the sign and influenced Roland Barthes, and Roman Jakobson, who derived from semiotics a theory of communication as explained below.

Although exploring the developing of semiotics and the divergences among the numerous schools of thought within the discipline is beyond the scope of this research, I will outline a brief summary of developments in semiotics that linked it to social and cultural studies and to the urban realm.

3.4.2.1. Emergence and limitations of semiotics

Semiotics (in its European form as opposed to the USA form) as well as structuralism emerged from the field of linguistics. It subsequently developed, expanded and overlapped with anthropology (for example the work of Claude Levi-Strauss), psychoanalysis (for example the work of Jacques Lacan), sociology, phenomenology, human geography, Marxist theories of ideology, and the study of religions. Gottdiener and Lagopoulos (1986) distinguish three additional schools that followed the Saussurean school of thought: the first is the school of the North American logician Charles Pierce (a contemporary of Saussure) which is contrasted with Saussure's and can be described as "scientific metasemiotics," belonging to the domain of logic and mathematics. The second approach belongs to the French literary Roland Barthes, who was interested in social ideology

¹ Saussure termed the study of the sign as "semiology," however, the term "semiotics" dates much earlier in time – it was first used by Henry Stubbes in 1670 in application to a branch of medicine concerned with the interpretation of signs (Liddell & Scott, 2005). "Semiotics" is the term used predominantly in cultural studies at the present, and we use it accordingly in our research.

underlying literary texts and cultural expression, especially ones associated with modernity and the bourgeois society. Barthes's *Mythologies* (1957) and *Elements of Semiology* (1964) gained semiotics an acceptance in the field of cultural analysis in the 1960s (Chandler, 2007). The third approach is that of Greimas, who defines semiotics as "the theory of all systems of signification," thus encompassing all the previous approaches in pursuit of unified approach to semiotics (Gottdiener & Lagopoulos, 1986).

A problem of decoding semiotic systems emerges from the difficulty of stepping outside own signifying system. Thus, any semiotic analysis would still be situated in particular historical and social circumstances, thereby affecting the ideological position of the decoder (Hodge & Tripp, 1986). Furthermore, although semiotics may provide frameworks for understanding signifying phenomena, it does not provide answers in itself; it needs to resort to other approaches such as the ethnographical or the phenomenological. Semioticians pursued neutrality through the process of denaturalisation, making the familiar strange. Sturrok (1986) explains though that such neutrality is hard to achieve and that the use of semiotics for the purpose of demystifying society has often been politicised showing signification as an ideological conspiracy of a dominant class against society (Chandler, 2007). To overcome the critique of semiotics for the purpose of this research, it will be used as an analytical framework expanding both synchronically and diachronically to encompass the socio-cultural context of the problem, while acknowledging the effects of power dynamics. The form of semiotics appropriated by this research is not purely structural, but rather coincides with the "urban socio-semiotics" proposed by Marc Gottdiener and Alexandros Lagopoulos in their book *"The city and the sign: an introduction to urban semiotics"* (1986).

Gottdiener and Lagopoulos (1986) build on the link between semiotics and the analysis of ideology and culture, tracing the development of what can be termed as socio-semiotics (a term proposed by Greimas (1976)). They define socio-semiotics as "a materialist inquiry into the role of ideology in everyday life," and argue that these ideological systems can be observed empirically and are culturally specific. Socio-semiotics furthermore include the study of these ideologies and the exposure of "apparently and socially sustained 'objective' modes of discourse," which perpetuate these ideologies, and which are in reality historical, social products. In this context the analysis is not limited to the realm of sign but incorporates the non-semiotic elements as well, such as the material and social processes accounting for signification (Gottdiener & Lagopoulos, 1986).

3.4.2.2. The structure of a semiotic system: denotative and connotative systems

In language, simple signification takes a chain of three inter-related forms: the signifier, the signified and the sign, and operates on the level of connecting elements of language (words) to their signification (meaning). For example the sign (sound) skull, functionally connects between the signifier - the object/image that is a skull (bone, cavities), and the signified – the concept of a skull (Figure 3-1). This simple relationship forms what is known as a denotative system or a denotation. It should be noted though that the signifier, before being attached to the signified, is an empty form, a word devoid of meaning, an utterance. While the signified is an actual object, or a mental construct or an idea that possesses its own reality and existence, and carries meaning, even before entering into the signification

system. The sign is the result of the process of coding the signifier upon the signified and is the synthesis of the two elements, rather than being an element in itself.

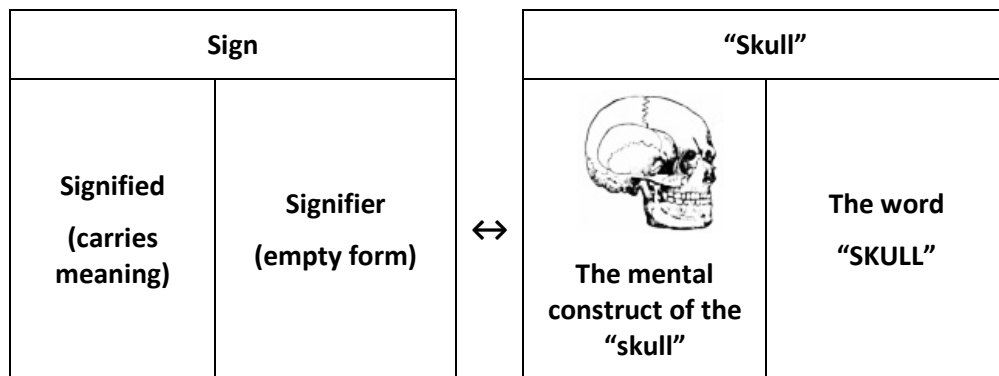


Figure 3-1: Elements of a denotative system. The figure on the left shows the names of the elements, while the figure on the right shows an example of the formation of the concept of "Skull."

In a denotative system "the signifier has no natural link with the signified" (Thwaites, Davis & Mules, 2002). For example, there is no inherent reason why the word "skull" might refer to that specific skeleton part; in most instances, the sign derives meaning from outside itself. In addition to this, the signifier can have numerous signifieds and vice versa (for example the words "cranium," or "head" can be used to indicate the same part of the skeleton). Yet, this is not absolute freedom; the connection between the signifier and the signified is a matter of historical incident; it has already been decided for us to use; and yet, had history occurred a little differently, different signifiers would've been attached to the signified. Because of this historical incident, denotations are often thought to be the "literal" and the simplest meaning of the sign – the obvious and most true first-order signification, the meaning one could find in a basic dictionary. They are also the most stable meanings, a concept which will come of use in discussing semiotics of heritage below. A denotative system could grow to incorporate several layers of meaning and form a metalanguage, but this meaning remains literal, and often the product of the function of the signified. In the layers of this system, the signs would become signifieds of superimposed layers and thus retain the original meaning. Thwaites et al. (2002) suggest that denotation is not simply the natural meaning of the sign, but its naturalised meaning.

A different type of semiotic system, the connotative system, is one in which the sign comes in the place of a signifier in the new layering of meaning. In this case the new meaning departs from the original and does not represent the literal meaning naturalised in the signified. This process produces abstract meanings and can be considered a building block in human civilisation and a sign of human intelligence. Abstract meanings require a cultural and intellectual capacity to read and decode them. However, the connotative system, applied in a socio-cultural context, can be used or rather abused as a strategy for the perpetuation of power through naturalising the values of the dominant class. To illustrate this process the example of the skull can be used. To explain the process of connotation I borrow an example from Thwaites et al. (2002) on the scientific justification of racism in nineteenth century.

Figure (3-2) comes from nineteenth-century European and North American textbooks on anthropology, who claim, as all respectable science does, to strictly denotative meaning. The two sets of diagrams imply a continuum: at one end of the continuum is the ideal of

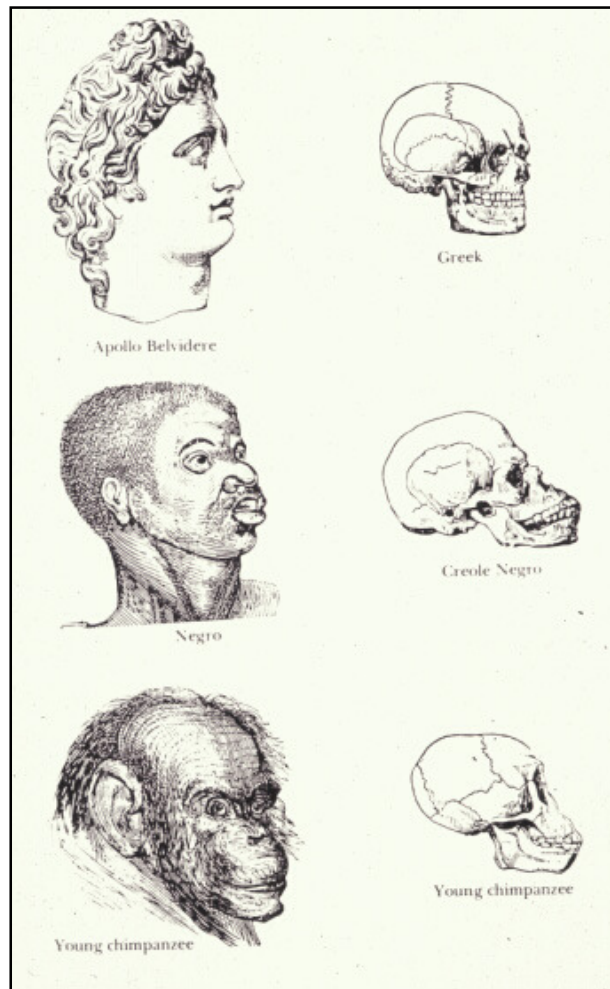


Figure 3-2: A study of the evolution of the human skull; borrowed from nineteenth-century European and North American textbooks on anthropology. (Thwaites, Davis, & Mules, 2002)

human beauty or development, the Apollo Belvedere (a European skull, its perfection signified by the right-angle of the jaw line). At the other end, there is an animal, a chimpanzee with the shallowest angle of facial declivity. Somewhere between these two extremes, grouped according to certain stereotypical and often just imaginary racial characteristics is the Creole Negro skull, which can be any of us who do not bear similarity to Greek statues or eagle-eyed fair-haired Europeans.

This continuum can be read in two ways; the first tells the story of progressive evolution towards the perfection of the European male (specifically); while the other tells the story of degeneration towards the animal, which furthermore warns of the dangers of racial mixture. This continuum structures a framework of racial superiority and degeneration, into which all racial data will be placed. Everything finds a place between civilised and the primitive, perfect and degenerate, human and animal, white and colored.

In this process, everything is measured from the norm and peak of perfection which is the white man. The further an element is from this point, the less highly developed it is. All sorts of other differences, in their cultural, social, historical complexity and richness are reduced to degrees of that one single difference.

On the level of semiotics the sign of the “skull” is assigned with a meaning that is not inherently linked to its being, the meaning of racial value, and the shape of the skull is assumed to indicate a certain value of racial being. The two signs in this system are not linked, and yet by placing them in a semiotics system and by making them a subject of discourse, the scientists – the anthropologists, attempt to link signs and in doing that they attempt to make them seem as natural. Represented by a semiotic system, this argument can be constructed as per (Figure 3-3):


Skull as a sign of racial superiority		
Second level order	Signified	Signifier
First level order	Concept of racial superiority	“Skull”
		 The mental construct of the “skull”
		The word “SKULL”

Figure 3-2: A semiotic framework detailing the construction of a connotative system to assign the concept of racial superiority to the sign of the skull.

The process of naturalisation of meaning via the use of semiotic connotations, and the use of this tactic for the propagation of power was discussed in depth by Roland Barthes in *Mythologies* (1957).

3.4.2.3. *Myth and consumption: Barthes, Baudrillard and Lefebvre*

In *Mythologies*, Roland Barthes critiques the culture of the bourgeois capitalist societies, which he argues is reduced to superficial symbols and mannerisms lacking in depth and relevance to the realities of life. Through discussing aspects of everyday life such as wine and milk, striptease, wrestling and washing detergents, he shows how certain concepts are uncritically consumed by society, and which serve the function of perpetuating the values of the dominant classes. Barthes names these products of consumerist culture mythologies, and proceeds to offer a linguistic semiotic model in order to deconstruct and analyse these “myths” and reveal the techniques of their construction and the motives behind them. Barthes explains:

“myth is a peculiar system, in that it is constructed from a semiological chain that existed before it: it *is a second-order semiological system*. That which is a sign (namely the associative total of a concept and an image) in the first system, becomes a mere signifier in the second... Myth sees in [the three forms] only the same raw material, their unity is that they all come down to the status of a mere language.” (Barthes, [1957] 2000, p. 114)

The structure of the myth consists of two semiotic levels (Figure 4-4): the language and the metalanguage (the myth). In the relationship of these two levels, the metalanguage is a

second tier language that uses the signs of the first tier language for its vocabulary. It reduces the sign of the first level to a signifier, stripping it of its “meaning” and leaving a hollow “form” (Barthes, [1957] 2000). Barthes calls the signified of the second level “concept,” and the correlation of form and concept “signification” to distinguish it from the “sign” of the first level.

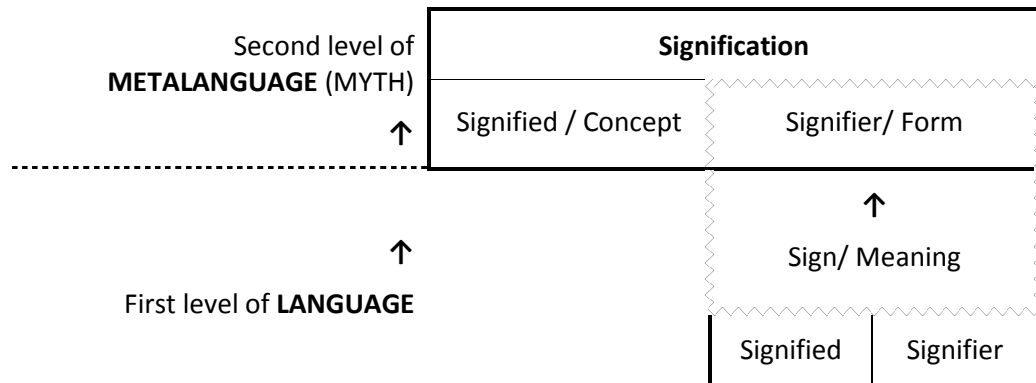


Figure 3-3: Scheme of myth construction - transformation of language into myth according to Barthes (2000). An important moment in the process is the transformation of the meaningful sign at the denotative, first level of language, into an empty signified.

An essential attribute of the myth is motivation. To satisfy a motive, the meaning is drained from the form and is totally absorbed by the concept and appropriated by the myth. The meaning is distorted and alienated. While the form is rendered empty and present, the meaning remains absent. Motivation is what distinguishes connotation from denotation, for in denotation the sign is not motivated but rather arbitrary, for example, the word “skull” has no factual connection to what it represents. Myth imposes a motivated history on the form and makes it appear “natural,” thus naturalising the concept. It appears innocent because its motive is not simply hidden, it is naturalised. This leads to the consumption of myth as a factual system, instead of the semiotic system that it actually is.

The ideology and meaning in the denotative system are built up gradually. In the connotative system, the first level system is reduced to rhetoric and a new ideology is imposed to imbue it with meaning. There is no gradual build up of meaning but rather, a disembedded-ment, an interruption and an “unnatural” continuation. Barthes relates these two systems to the social production and consumption of meaning saying that the society “holds the plane of connotation” and “speaks the signifiers of the system considered.” Thus, society does not pursue the meaning and origin of the signified. It is the semiologist who “speaks its signifieds; he therefore seems to have the objective function of decipherer in relation to the world which naturalises or conceals the signs of the first system under the signifiers of the second” (Barthes, 1964). In this sense the system of denotation preserves the natural build-up of meaning, while the connotative system introduces an alien meaning and attempts to deceive the innocent reader by naturalising it.

In the realm of the bourgeois culture of capitalism, myth (the connotative semiological system of bourgeoisie) abolishes the complexity of human acts. It “organises a world without contradictions because it is without depth,” where “things appear to mean something by themselves.” Myth becomes depoliticised speech, because the political

comprises of “the whole of human relations in their real, social structure, in their power of making the world” (Barthes, [1957] 2000).

Jean Baudrillard also used semiotics for the study of consumption of objects and meaning in the bourgeois society. For him an object of “consumption” in this context meant more than an “object of need and satisfaction,” as he conceptualised consumption not as a “passive mode of assimilation and appropriation” but as the “virtual totality of all objects and messages presently constituted in a more or less coherent discourse.” For Baudrillard consumption was “a systematic act of the manipulation of signs,” (Baudrillard, 1968) and that is why he believed that it was the process of consumption and not production that is the main drive in a capitalist society, for him, the “ideological genesis of needs” guided production (Baudrillard, 1983).

Baudrillard proposed that there are four levels of value that comprise the meaning attached to an object (meaning being the true subject of consumption):

1. use value: which is the functional value of an object (e.g. a building could be used for residential purpose);
2. economic value: which is achieved by the object’s exchange (e.g. a building can be exchanged for a certain amount of money);
3. symbolic value: assigned to the object in relation to a subject (e.g. a building could be a symbol of wealth or the good taste of the owner);
4. sign value: assigned to an object in a system of objects (e.g. a building could place the owner in middle or upper class in relation to society)

Baudrillard reasoned that not only were the use and the exchange values interconnected, but also that they were disrupted or “disembedded” by the symbolic and the sign values, which corresponds to Barthes’ discussion on the effect of the myth on a system of meaning. For Baudrillard one of the dominant relationships among the four values was in the form of:

$$\frac{\text{Sign value}}{\text{Symbol value}} = \frac{\text{Economic value}}{\text{Use value}}$$

Whereby “sign value is to symbolic value what exchange value (economic) is to use value. That is to say that between symbolic exchange and sign value there is the same reduction, the same process of abstraction... as between the multiple ‘concrete’ use values and the abstraction of exchange value in the commodity.” (Baudrillard, 1981)

The four levels of value proposed by Baudrillard are based on the system of the sign and fit into the signification (myth) framework developed by Barthes. Furthermore, Baudrillard observed the effect of the capitalist consumer culture on the relationship between the object and the consumer in parallel to Lefebvre’s concept of lived and abstract space. Baudrillard argued that in the traditional context, the “object-symbols” mediate a “real relation of a lived (véçue) situation,” which “clearly bears the trace, in its substance and in its form, of the conscious and unconscious dynamics of this relation, and is therefore not arbitrary.” In this case the object is actualised or lived (*vivant*), and “impregnated” with meaning and connotations directly by the users; this object is not consumed in Baudrillard’s sense. To be consumed “the object must become sign; in some way it must become external to the relation that it now signifies, a-signed arbitrarily... [obtaining] its meaning, from an abstract and systematic relation to all other object-signs.” This object is not

consumed in its “materiality, but in its difference”, it is the idea of the object that is consumed. (Baudrillard [1968], 2001)

The discussion above lays ground for a framework for the analysis of the components of the meaning constructing process. The four value level model developed by Baudrillard can be synthesised with the framework of myth as developed by Barthes. The resulting framework (Figure 3-5) can be applied to the process of construction of meaning of heritage for the case study of al-Balad.

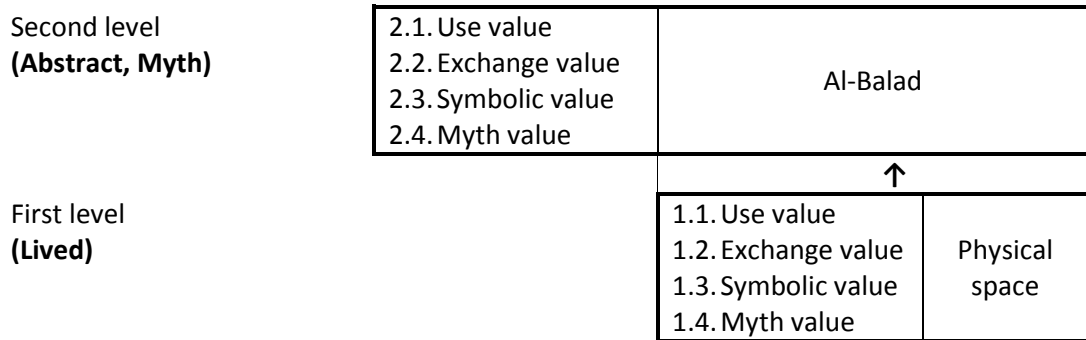


Figure 3-5: The analytical framework of meaning construction, which is a result of the synthesis of Barthes’ structure of Myth, and Baudrillard’s four levels of value.

Another framework to help in guiding the analysis of the context of the research problem is the communication model, as it pinpoints the exact components that contribute to the construction of meaning. The model used here is developed by Roman Jakobson, a Russian structural linguist in 1960s and consists of functions highlighting the importance of the cultural and social processes involved in communication (Figure 3-6). These functions consist of:

- 1) the context to which the message refers (or where the communication occurs),
- 2) the message being conveyed,
- 3) the sender of the message,
- 4) the receiver of the message,
- 5) the channel or the means by which the message is conveyed,
- 6) the code or the coding system that governs the structure and the meaning of the message.

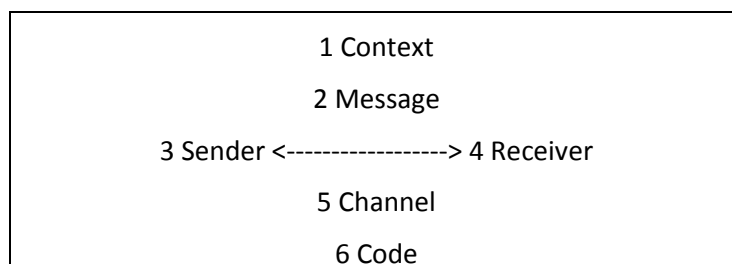


Figure 3-6: Communication framework by Roman Jakobson. (Sebeok, 1960)

Although the components of the model comprise in their entirety a complex and indivisible system, in the following chapters the focus will be on defining the “context” which is the physical and cultural dimension of al-Balad and the Jordanian society, the “message” which consists of the historical narrative and the discourse on the relationship with the past, the “sender” and the “receiver” who consist of interchangeable groups simultaneously producing and consuming the meaning of heritage.

While myth represents new arbitrary meaning encoded and naturalised onto the sign, consuming the sign, or reading it does not necessarily consist of uncritical agreement with its message; Hall suggests three hypothetical interpretative positions for the receiver’s reading of the sign (Hall, [1973] 1980) building on Frank Parkin’s “meaning systems” (Parkin, 1972):

1. dominant (“hegemonic”) reading: the receiver fully shares the code and accepts and reproduces the preferred reading (which may not have been the result of any conscious intention on the part of the sender) – in this instance the code seems “natural” and “transparent;”
2. negotiated reading: the receiver partly shares the code and broadly accepts the preferred reading, but sometimes resists and modifies it in a way which reflects his own position, experiences and interests - this position involves contradictions;
3. oppositional (“counter-hegemonic”) reading: the receiver, placed by his social situation in a directly oppositional relation to the dominant code, understands the preferred reading but does not share the code and rejects this reading, bringing to bear an alternative frame of reference. (Chandler, 2007)

These three positions locate the process of encoding and decoding in the wider social, political and cultural context. Conceiving the process of encoding and decoding as problematic and political is essential for the understanding of the formation of heritage.

It is also important to emphasise that although these frameworks aid in understanding the process, they do not establish causalities. In order to explain why the construction of meaning of heritage in the case study is one of the sources of the research problem, an analysis will be needed for the heritage of al-Balad, the historical development of place, the identities of its users (consumers), the actors who contribute to shaping the meaning of heritage in Jordan and the relationship between these factors. At its core, this model is based on linguistic principles and incorporates basic dynamics for creation of meaning, in this sense it is transferrable to Arab culture (Asfour, 2009); it has also been useful to the analysis of meaning and legitimation for the heritage of Angkor Wat in Cambodia (Heikkila & Peycam, 2010). Another limitation of this model is that it is built on a critique of the capitalist bourgeois society and its cultural practices, and although the framework could be transferrable to a neo-liberal capitalist society, it might be leaving out important aspects of the Arab, Muslim and Jordanian culture. This can be countered to some extent by historical analysis as explained above. Overall, this framework can only advance the research as far as providing a structure for analysis and highlighting instances of manipulation of meaning; which after all is its original objective.

At this point in research, it is possible to apply the semiotic framework of myth to further illustrate how the notion of “interruption” is introduced to the concept of heritage in comparison to the concept of tradition as it is defined in the previous chapter.

3.5. Constructing a semiotic framework to explore al-Balad as a place of heritage

This chapter explores the first source of discord and contradictions that is proposed to be a reason for the research problem, and which is latent in the process of constructing the meaning of heritage and encoding it in space. The discussion begins by searching for structured analytical methodology to use in the analysis of the case study, based on parallel analytical methodologies in other fields. Stemming from the focus on heritage as a construct of meaning, the field of semiotics was found to be of particular relevance. It encompassed both a structured analytical framework, and previous analysis into the process of construction of meaning and strategies employed to perpetuate dominant values.

The analytical framework constructed here for analysing the embodiment of meaning in the space of al-Balad consist of a synthesis of three theoretical approaches: Lefebvre’s trialectics of space, Barthes’ semiotics as applied to place and Baudrillard’s levels of value. Lefebvre’s theorising on the dynamics of power in the space of capitalism focuses on forms of space such as the perceived, the conceived and the lived, and concludes that abstract space, where meaning is disembedded from space, is a by-product of power dynamics in capitalist culture. Semiotics, on the other hand, provides a structural framework for the analysis of the meaning of heritage, and a body of literature on analyses that studied the power dynamics in the construction of meaning. After examining the concept, the work of Roland Barthes and the concept of myth are employed. Baudrillard expands on the structure of the myth by proposing four levels of value that shape the meaning of objects in the context of the bourgeois society. The synthesised model of myth is beneficial in examining the process of construction and naturalisation the meaning of heritage. It organises the deconstruction of the concept to its semiotic elements, which can be applied to fieldwork findings in order to examine how the meaning of heritage constructed by different social groups.

Chapter Four: problematising the concept of heritage

4.1. Introduction

The second source of dissonance that I argue to be one of the main causes of the research problem may lay in the different conception of heritage by different groups. This chapter attempts to construct a multi-dimensional understanding of heritage and discover instances of inherent discord by destabilising the naturalised notions of reality associated with the concept, and by deconstructing it historically and conceptually, as well as producing an operational definition to guide the research.

The chapter begins by consolidating a literature review that provides a rich body of definitions as well as defining methods, which comprises of descriptive analytical narratives, models for understanding the process of heritage, and critiques of the practice of its conservation and representation. From this review it becomes evident that the definition of heritage in discourse depends heavily on the practice of conservation (producing descriptive definitions) and reactions to this practice (producing prescriptive reactive definitions). In addition to these definitions, which establish what heritage “is” and what it “should be” on a practical level, the compiled discourse also examines what heritage “should be” on a conceptual level, providing a fluid, complex, inclusive and sustainable “ideal” for heritage. However, little was found to examine what heritage “is” at the moment on the conceptual level, or to highlight the contradictions that develop in the practice of conservation and permeate into the conceptual definition of heritage as naturalised “truths.” The main purpose of this chapter is to problematise the prevalent definitions of “heritage” by examining its historical *raison d’être*, and then tracing the development of the concept and its application throughout the world.

4.2. “Heritage,” constructing a definition of the concept

Literature on heritage is rich with its definitions. The most simple and universal definition today, adopted by the UNESCO defines it as “our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations” (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2005). Yet literature dealing with issues of heritage cannot seem to agree on a coherent or a unified definition; the definition of heritage seems to be so elusive and malleable that, for example, Larkham (1995) comments it is “all things to all people,” Brett (1996) begins his discussion stating that he “shall not be offering a definition of the term, since its use has become extremely various and vague,” Lowenthal (1998) notes that “heritage today all but defies definition,” while Smith (2006), in her book “Uses of heritage” makes a point of arguing that “there is no such thing as ‘heritage’.” This leads one to question whether we “really need a tight definition at all, let alone a comprehensive ‘manifesto’ of what heritage

is all about”(Harvey, 2001), since it has become such a complex and broad topic, which can be described as “unsystematised” and “heterogeneous,” and which reveals itself in literature that is little more than “a morass of case studies” (Terry-Chandler, 1999)¹ ranging from “war memorials in Wales to the media treatment of Princess Diana” (Harvey, 2001).

4.2.1. Approaches to defining heritage

From a survey of the literature on heritage it can be observed that attempts for its definition fall into four general analytical approaches: the first approach – which constitutes the majority - provides a descriptive discourse about what heritage is as informed by its practice; it provides definitions for the term, and analyses for case studies from varied contexts. This discourse is countered and often conflicted by a critiquing discourse which highlights the emergent problems and shortcomings and attempts to prescribe what heritage should be. The conflicts arising between the two discourses provide an opportunity for dialogue that helps shape the definition of heritage and supplies an analytical and critical framework for its understanding.

The second approach is historical; it attempts to explain characteristics of heritage by tracing the historical development of the concept in practice. The third approach is comparative. The concept of heritage is abstracted to its essence of being a “relationship with the past” and compared with other such concepts such as the concept of history, which in turn leads to a discussion that reveals some characteristics of heritage, thus contributing to its definition. And finally, the fourth approach is model-based; it attempts to construct models for a processual understanding of the construction of heritage in reference to existing models which explain processes such as cultural construction of meaning or as an economical process.

In order to proceed with answering the research questions posed, the research must take a position in regard to the definitions and conceptualisations of heritage surveyed in literature. The literature on heritage is voluminous, and it is not the place here to summarise the debates that constitute it again. What would be of use for this research though is to search for sources of conflict that lead to the research problem in the fundamentals of the definition of the concept. The vagueness of the concept of heritage can be attributed to several reasons, such as dependence on practice, disciplinary-overloading, but most importantly a fundamental form of *conceptual overloading* – the concept is built on too many essential assumptions of what heritage “should be” which are not fully and critically assessed against what heritage actually “is.” If an analysis of this fundamental level is not performed, all other levels of analysis will remain founded on uncritical assumptions. In the course of this chapter therefore I attempt to deconstruct the concept of heritage by addressing the four analytical approaches mentioned above. Firstly, the research surveys heritage literature to attain an inventory of characteristics. Secondly, there is an exploration of the historical trajectory of the development of heritage, linked to the characteristics established above with emphasis of the relation of heritage and identity. Thirdly, the research explores the processual models approach to the definition of heritage. And fourthly, it builds an analysis based on a comparison with another concept that frames

¹ Quoted in (Harvey, 2001).

human relationship with the past - tradition, which I argue is parallel to the concept of heritage, and relevant to its practice in the context of developing countries.

The purpose of this analysis is to return to the origin of the concept of heritage and understand its historical development. By returning to the conceptual level of defining what heritage not only “should be” but also what it “is,” and comparing it to other similar concepts it becomes evident that the vagueness is a result of a wide gap between the conceptual definitions of heritage and the definitions produced by practice. The research attempts to construct a realistic and critical synthesis to serve as a definition of the concept, in order to subsequently relate it to the context of the case study in Jordan.

4.2.1.1. The first approach: Defining heritage through descriptive and prescriptive discourse

To start with the basic dictionary definition, heritage is simply “that which is or may be inherited, or the fact of inheriting” (SOED, 2007), whereby it is also interesting to note (as this will serve for a working definition below) the definition of the verb “inherit” as “come into possession of, as a right; and take or receive (property, a privilege, title, etc.) as an heir after the death of a former possessor” (SOED, 2007). Departing from the basic meaning of the word and into the ones available in the literature, Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) provide a detailed definition which focuses on the following points: the term “heritage” is “used as a synonym for any relict physical survival from the past,” which ranged initially from major archaeological sites and significant objects and monuments, and was broadened to include sites of various scales associated with past events and personalities (even in case that the actual physical structures did not survive). Then there is the additional “non-physical aspect of the past when viewed from the present” which also ranges in terms of scale and significance from the individual and banal to the collective – on community or national scales. The term “heritage” is furthermore used to refer to “all accumulated cultural and artistic activity” produced in the past or the present, and has been incorporated in “high culture.”

On a collective level, “national heritage” has become synonymous to “national culture,” and was extended to include, in addition to man-made products, the natural landscapes and their components of flora and fauna. Finally, Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) conclude the definition of heritage by stating that it is also a “major commercial activity” which is grouped into a “heritage industry” based on “selling goods and services with a heritage component” such as “recreational and tourism experiences that are self-consciously related to some aspect of a remembered or a supposed past.”

The summary of the definition by Tunbridge and Ashworth is representative of the issues discussed when defining heritage in the relevant literature. The points above combined amount to what Smith (2006) titles as the “Authorised Heritage Discourse” (AHD); the dominant discourse that serves to shape the concept of “heritage” in general practice. Smith describes the authorised heritage discourse as focusing “attention on aesthetically pleasing material objects, sites, places and/or landscapes that current generations ‘must’ care for, protect and revere so that they may be passed to nebulous future generations for their ‘education,’ and to forge a sense of common identity based on the past.” Yet, this dominant discourse does not go unchallenged, it is countered by another discourse in

instances when its narrow definitions and values that claim universality come in conflict when applied to diverse and different contexts, to which these definitions and values do not necessarily apply. A synthesis of this dominant discourse on heritage and the counter-discourse, in reference to Smith and wider heritage literature, ascribes heritage with the following emergent characteristics:

a) Heritage is a process:

Heritage can be described as a process on two levels. The first is the level of the construction of heritage, whereby collectives assign significance to aspects of the past and decide to conserve it to pass on to future generations in what can be described as a circuit of heritage (Graham, Ashworth, & Turnbridge, 2000), which is an adaptation from the “cultural circuit” proposed by Hall (1997) that explains how cultural constructs are created through the processes of cultural production, representation and consumption. The focus on heritage being a dynamic process is growing in significance in literature (Lowenthal, 1985); (Dicks, 2000a); (Dicks, 2000b); (Graham, Ashworth & Turnbridge, 2000); (Harvey, 2001); (Smith, 2006); for example, Hewison (2001) makes this point by stating that heritage is a “verb,”² while Smith (2006) emphasises the idea by explaining that heritage “is a cultural process that engages with acts of remembering that work to create ways to understand and engage with the present” and the sites [or the tangible elements] are “cultural tools that can facilitate” this process.

The second level on which the dynamism of heritage as a process is revealed is latent in its intangible forms. Whereas heritage conservation has been heavily focused on its material and monumental forms, the appreciation of the significance of the intangible forms of heritage and the experience of heritage is emerging strongly in practice and debate in the West due to what Smith describes as a “late twentieth-century re-evaluation of modernity, and an increasing concern with the local in response to fears of globalisation” (also in (Castells, 1997); (Berking, 2003); (Deacon et al., 2004)). The “conserve-as-found” ethos which forms the basis of the principles for the protection of World heritage was also challenged under the pressure of debate and scholarship of non-Western heritage practitioners when conflict arose around the suitability of the definitions of authenticity to the experiences and conceptions of heritage held by indigenous people and cultures outside the global North and West. Examples of such conflict are plenty. Smith (2006) illustrates one of these cases where controversy followed the “re-painting” of the rock art sites in Western Australia in the 1980s, whereby the aboriginal custodians were blamed for using “non-traditional” techniques and thus defacing the ancient art. The custodians’ argument was that it is the values, meaning and ritual that go into the cultural practice and performance of painting itself that are the essence of the rock arts whereby the materiality of the paintings is a by-product (more on this debate in (Bowdler, 1988); (Mowljarlai & Peck, 1987); (Mowljarlai et al., 1988)).

Munjeri (2004) provides several other examples which illustrate the shortcomings of the prevalent conceptualisation of the authenticity of heritage which relies on the tenets of “materials,” “workmanship,” “design,” and “setting,” as the conceptualisation fails to take into consideration the subjective meaning of authenticity naturalised in each culture, and

² As does Brett (1996) in reference to ‘history.’

clashes with the dynamism and flexibility of “living cultures.” One such example is the case of the Grand Shrine of Ise in Japan dating back to 690 A.D., whose cultural significance and age qualifies it for heritage status. And yet, the entire structure is renewed every 20 years in a custom known as “shikinenzotai.” Thus, although the shrine is constructed according to authentic workmanship handed down generations of workmen, and from materials that are sourced from the same place as the original, there is nothing old or physically original about the temple itself (Tokoro, 2001)³. Another example is the construction of voodoo temples in the town of Ouidah, Benin – which is considered to be the “cradle of voodoo cultures.” In Ouidah, the worship rituals are secretive and take place in regularly rebuilt structures. These structures follow modern trends and utilise readily available materials such as concrete and sheet metal. Some of the ritual symbolic elements such as the altars are constructed of “automobile carburetors and old sewing machines” to represent the voodoo of war (Sinou, 1999)⁴.

Cases such as these challenge the authorised heritage discourse and call for a widening and a revision of the definition of values and the conceptualisation of authenticity of heritage; this is debated in several venues, such as the general concept of heritage (Graham, 2002); (Munjeri, 2004); (Butler, 2006) and the necessity of understanding both the imperialistic and post-colonial processes of narrative construction, the heritage aspects of social networking, cultural performances (such as dance, music, food, etc.), oral history and traditions, and skills and knowledge (Fourmile, 1989); (Hufford, 1994); (Echo-Hawk, 1997); (Teather & Chow, 2003); (Amselle, 2004); (Deacon et al., 2004).

b) Heritage is present-centred:

In much of the literature on heritage, it is defined around the idea that it is a relationship with the past, but not just any relationship – it is a relationship where the past is shaped by the present with a view towards the future. For example, Graham et al. (2000) observe that “heritage is a view from the present, either backward to a past or forward to a future. In both cases, the viewpoint cannot be other than now, the perspective is blurred and indistinct and shaped by current concerns and predispositions,” a thought resonant in (Lowenthal, 1985); (Hewison, 1987); (Turnbridge & Ashworth, 1996), among others.

Another aspect of the present-centeredness of heritage occurs in the perception of the dating of its history and a prevalent sense of its modernity. It is also often noted that the term “heritage” itself has come to mean more than its original meaning of “legal bequest” only a few decades ago (Graham, Ashworth, & Turnbridge, 2000). While Harvey (2001) observes that much of the literature on heritage tends to date the beginning of the heritage phenomenon to the second half of the twentieth century, and its earliest appearance to the Ancient Monument Act of 1882, and figures such as William Morris. The rise of the phenomenon of heritage has been linked to the post-Fordist economical context, which began in the 1970s (McCrone, Morris, & Kiely, 1995) and to the advent of the post-modern society (Walsh, 1992). The historical trajectory of the development of the concept and practice of heritage is essential to its understanding and is discussed in a dedicated section below.

³ Quoted in (Munjeri, 2004).

⁴ Quoted in (Munjeri, 2004).

c) Heritage is a subjective interpretation of the past:

By defining heritage as a “contemporary product shaped by history” (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996), or as a process that “clarifies pasts so as to infuse them with present purpose” (Lowenthal, 1998), it is evident that heritage involves the delivery of the past through a filter of the present, as such it follows that it is to some extent interpretive and thus subjective. The interpretive and subjective nature of heritage has received much criticism, especially when compared to other concepts that frame human relationship with the past, such as history.

Harvey (2001) links the increasing access and involvement of people with heritage phenomena and its interpretation to technology (also (Dodgshon, 1999)); as the discovery of new technologies in the age of modernity allowed a deeper discovery of the past through improved scientific tools and methods, as well as a better imagination of the future. Technology also allowed better ways to reveal, understand, interpret and present the products and manifestations of time to a wider array of consumers.

The interpretative and subjective nature of heritage, coupled with the process of objectification that is a by-product of post-modern industries, has led to increasing critiques of the “heritage industry,” as it is seen to destroy the “authentic” versions of the past and replacing them with simulacra of the past (Hewison, 1987). The processes of objectification and naturalisation of the meanings and narrations of heritage in order to package it as an economic and cultural commodity, lead to the production of images of images, hollow of meaning, which stifle cultural creativity, “encourage reactionary nostalgia and a consensual view of history”(Smith, 2006) (also in (Bickford, 1981); (Brett, 1996); (Lowenthal, 1998); (Choay, 2001); (Knecht & Niedermüller, 2002); (Gable & Handler, 2003); (Debary, 2004)).

d) Heritage is strongly linked to identity construction:

The link between heritage and the construction of identity is well explored in literature. Like history, heritage fosters feelings of belonging and continuity (Lowenthal, 1985) and provides “meaning to human existence by conveying the ideas of timeless values and unbroken lineages that underpin identity” (Graham, Ashworth, & Turnbridge, 2000) (also in (Macdonald & Fyfe, 1996); (Graham, Ashworth, & Turnbridge, 2000); (Howard, 2003)). Heritage provides a symbolic representation of identity and its material and tangible manifestations supply “a physical representation of those things from ‘the past’ that speak to a sense of place, a sense of self, of belonging and community” (Smith, 2006).

Giddens (1991) discusses identity proposing that:

“a person’s identity is not to be found in behavior, nor – important though this is – in the reactions of others, but in the capacity to *keep a particular narrative going*. The individual’s biography... must continually integrate events which occur in the external world, and sort them into the ongoing ‘story’ about the self.”

As such, heritage plays a big role in the cultural and political construction of identity on its numerous levels (religious, political, national, ethnic, etc.); and vice versa, the need for historical rooting in building cultural and political identity plays a big role in the construction of heritage; “in order to have a sense of who we are, we have to have a notion of how we have become, and of where we are going” (Taylor, 1989).

A particular form of identity that heritage has been strongly linked to is national identity. Smith (2006) argues that “the emergence of the heritage discourse within the context of the nineteenth-century nationalism has meant that the primary form of identity often associated with heritage is that of the nation,” a circumstance which is further reinforced by the intertwining of discourses of heritage with discourses of the disciplines of archaeology and history, which are underlined by a strong nationalising narrative. In addition to the national scale, two other geographical scales have an increasing affect on the debate on heritage with quite opposite aims: the global scale, emerging in the footsteps of globalisation and the global interconnection which allowed for the expansion of knowledge sharing and cultural tourism. This scale leads to an attempt to systematise and universalise the conceptualisation of heritage worldwide, subsequently leading to an emphasis on the universality of heritage values and principles in heritage identification and conservation in documents such as World Heritage Convention. The second scale is the local scale, which grew in significance as a reaction to globalisation and allowed for the emergence of the voice of local-scale and marginalised cultures, challenging the universality of the said convention. However, although both these emergent scales are significant, the discourse of heritage places an emphasis on the nation and the universality of world heritage, which leads to the devaluation and obscurity of certain local identities (Smith, 2006).

Smith (2006) points to other shortcomings evident in heritage literature and practice, such as the focus on “the grand, monumental and the aesthetically pleasing” to represent national identity. Un-proportionally more focus is given to the experience and values of elite social classes and alienates certain groups based on gender, ethnicity, race, or class. This also limits their critique by privileging the expert and their values, and by perpetuating “the self-referential nature of the discourse, which continually legitimises itself and the values and ideologies on which it is based” (Smith, 2006).

Thus, the debate on heritage (national and other) needs more work to be done on the level of the everyday people, one which Billig (1995) argues is embodied in the banal symbols and everyday habits and activities. It is also important to understand how heritage is performed and how it comes to be, as the sort of “identity work” that people do at heritage sites is often assumed and unproblematised in literature (Urry, 1996), (Bagnall, 2003), (McLean, 2006). Tackling these aspects of heritage helps liberate the debate from the confines and limitation of a dominant elitist and exclusivist approach.

e) Heritage is intrinsically dissonant:

The question of dissonance in heritage has been discussed by Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996), whereby they define it as involving a “discordance or a lack of agreement and consistency.” The concept of dissonance is analogous to the concept of musical harmony/disharmony, and to the concept of psychological dissonance, borrowed from Sears et al. (1995), and defined as “a state of psychic tension caused by the simultaneous holding of mutually inconsistent attitudes or the existence of a lack of consonance between attitudes and behaviour” (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). The concept of psychic dissonance postulates that people affected by dissonance will “adjust their patterns of behaviour” so as

to resolve the situation, “reduce dissonance and move towards consonance” (Sears, Freedman, & Peplau, 1995).

Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) argue that due to the role of selection in the production of heritage, dissonance is an intrinsic characteristic of heritage, “it is not an unforeseen and unfortunate by-product... that can be removed by improving the production process,” and propose that heritage is intrinsically dissonant for two main reasons: the first being the construction of heritage as an economic commodity, and the second being what they propose as the concept of “disinheritance” (Graham, 2002).

Treating heritage resources as a market commodity necessitates the emergence of major problems and tensions that accompany the process of commodification inherent in contemporary markets. For example, the production process brings with it the dichotomy of generalisation versus particularisation, or homogenisation versus making the products heterogeneous. Many aspects of heritage tourism call for the reduction of complex messages in the narration of the past to a set of easily consumable characteristics in order to facilitate their experience. Universalisation of the tourists’ experience facilitates the processes of the construction of their expectations and subsequently their satisfaction. The idea of the “universality” of heritage on which its selection and conservation is based supports this approach. On the other hand localisation and emphasising the uniqueness of a place’s history is required in identity building, in achieving a more developed and niche-oriented phase of heritage tourism and in allowing for a multi-vocal and an inclusive construction of heritage. Striking a balance between a generalising approach to the construction of heritage and the approach that favors uniqueness of place is not easy, especially when economical interests of tourism industries clash with the political interests and identity-building efforts of other groups (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996).

The other source of dissonance in heritage can be explained, according to Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996), by the concept of disinheritance. They argue that:

“all heritage is someone’s heritage and therefore logically not someone else’s: the original meaning of an inheritance implies the existence of disinheritance and by extension any creation of heritage from the past disinherits someone completely or partially, actively or potentially. This disinheritance may be unintentional, temporary, of trivial importance, limited in its effects and concealed; or it may be long-term, widespread, intentional, important and obvious.”

The idea of disinheritance goes against the idea of “a universal heritage which provides an equal but full inheritance for all.” In a multicultural world heritage is contested and interpreted differently by different groups. Some groups succeed in establishing their narration of history while others are “written out of the script of history” (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996).

Dissonance in the universal condition of heritage, and is present in all heritage to some degree, and it is “the incidence and magnitude” of this degree that “provides a geography of dissonant heritage” (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). Conversely, Graham (2002) argues that “dissonance can be regarded as destructive but, paradoxically, it is also the condition of the construction of a pluralist, multicultural society based on inclusiveness and variable-sum conceptualisations of power.”

f) The two main uses of heritage:

Across the literature of heritage (e.g. (Graham, Ashworth, & Turnbridge, 2000), (Graham, 2002), (Smith, 2006), its uses can be summed down to two main general points: economical and cultural.

1. The economic uses of heritage: heritage tourism, or cultural tourism is considered the main economic use of heritage. Tourism in turn, is regarded as one of the “world’s top job creators” and drivers of development, providing more than 75 million direct jobs worldwide (6-7% of worldwide number of jobs in 2009); and being especially significant in developing countries as it accounts for 35% of total export of services (UNWTO, 2009a). Despite the decline in global tourism demand that accompanied the recent worldwide economic downturn and the outbreak of certain diseases (such as the A(H1N1) influenza) (the demand declined to -8% comparing 2009 with 2008), over the past six decades tourism has become one of the fastest growing sectors in the world (international tourists arrivals grew from 25 million in 1950, to 255 million in 1980, to 438 million in 1990, to 684 million in 2000, to 922 million in 2008). Developing countries have captured an increasing share of this growth (international tourist arrivals has risen from 31% in 1990 to 45% in 2008). And despite the slow global growth in tourism receipts for the year 2008 due to economical fluctuations (1.7% in 2008, after being 5% for both 2006 and 2007) the Middle East did remarkably well registering 17% growth and reaching US\$ 46 billion (for Jordan the figure was 9%, which ranks it sixth out of the 10 countries which constitute the ME) (UNWTO, 2009b).

The big role that tourism plays in the world economy gives tremendous inertia to processes of commodification and consumption that are put in motion by the industry, in addition to all the values that come attached to them. As Sack (1992) argues, “landscapes of consumption... tend to consume their own contexts.” Graham (2002) further explains that the industry of tourism has considerable externalities, and its costs are relegated to those who are not involved in tourism consumption; “thus tourism is largely parasitic upon culture, to which it may contribute nothing.” By imposing relatively unconstrained costs on heritage resources, the tourism producers create an indirect relationship between the costs and benefits of tourism. It might as well be that the benefits of tourism return indirectly to heritage resources, if at all (Graham, 2002). Tourism devastates heritage by having a homogenising effect, and by freezing it in time via conservation and restoration, which goes against its changeable, fluid nature. Furthermore, despite being a renewable resource due to endless capacity of re-interpretation, the material aspects of heritage are finite; the physical fabric of heritage is non-renewable; a circumstance that invites one to consider seriously the importance of sustainability in heritage tourism.

2. The cultural uses of heritage: as has been discussed above, heritage is a relationship with the past, which revolves around establishing historical continuity for one’s existence, legitimising identity and providing a temporal rooting for geographical belonging. This need for legitimisation and continuity is the reason that the concept of heritage came into being, as discussed below in an overview of the history of heritage, centuries before heritage became a significant resource for the tourism and development industries. Without a vision of the past societies cannot construct a vision of the future; and despite the transformation

of the manifestation that this vision takes in view of socio-cultural changes of societies as they time-travel through modernity to post-modernity and globalisation, the human psyche requires to stabilise itself in an historical rooting. This is the fundamental purpose for the existence of heritage: to provide a meaningful historical narrative (represented in intangible and tangible forms), that would allow individuals and societies to legitimise their existence. Heritage is also geographically rooted, as the legitimising is bounded by the place of history. Even if the person seeking heritage is displaced or has a mobile way of life (as in the case of nomads or the travelers), the necessity of geographical rooting persists, alas transformed. In the case of displaced persons, the attachment to the place of origin remains strong for generations, while in the case of nomads, one can argue, the perception of geographical boundaries is widened and made more fluid.

Being a meaningful historical narrative, the construction of heritage is subjective; it is shaped by the choices people make regarding emphasising or omitting parts of their history so as to increase the comparative status of their identities versus the Other. This applies to the multitude of levels on which identity is woven: religious, political or ethnic and as such is subject to conflicts when the subjectivity and relativism of the process causes clashes of opinion between different groups. Constructing heritage is a very problematic process. Perhaps it is due to this complex nature that the cultural aspect of heritage is dropped in the process of its institutionalisation and in the implementation of its conservation, another reason might be the materialist and objectivist view that modern Western cultures apply to the world. If the material heritage is managed in the “proper, good common sense manner” it is assumed that everything else will follow. This approach becomes evident in the resistance of the dominant heritage discourse to accept the fluidity and subjectivity of the concept, and in the manner charters and papers on heritage are constructed: although they acknowledge the cultural importance of heritage as a source of national pride for example (UNWTO, 2004) the focus remains almost exclusively on management and procedural organisation of heritage conservation and its consumption via tourism (Smith, 2006). Heritage is viewed as a remodeling project, one where the meaning attached to a place is considered auxiliary, part of the accessories to adorn the place and not the fundament of its existence.

Another cultural use of heritage, one that verges on the economic dimension, is its use in urban development, in a process known as gentrification. Gentrification is a phenomenon first documented in London, UK and in a number of United States east coast cities in the decades of 1950-60, and can be defined as “the transformation of a working-class or vacant area of the central city into middle-class residential and/or commercial use”(Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008); and is considered the result of two interdependent processes: emergence of economic opportunities/ rent gaps (especially in the inner city) that encourage the displacement of capital to those locations, especially in cities where proximity and centrality are crucial (Smith, 1986), and the emergence of a “gentry” – a group of people with special structural characteristics (cultural, social and economical) whose ideology, lifestyle and economical status encourages them to gentrify (Beauregard, 1986). Although heritage character is not a prerequisite for gentrification, the gentry – many of whom represent the cultural avant-gardes and the shapers of good taste in society – are particularly aware of the cultural capital inherent in heritage buildings and urban fabric.

Thus, historical quarters in the city become especially attractive anchors for gentrification and urban development.

To sum, there are two main uses for heritage, as a cultural and as an economic resource. And while the cultural use of heritage, especially as a tool of identity building, is fundamental to its existence, the pre-occupation with its role as a resource in tourism industries and the focus on its objective, material nature dominate global heritage practice and lead to obscuring the vital role of its cultural and intangible nature.

4.2.1.2. Second approach: the historical trajectory of the development of the concept of heritage

The literature so far has established that heritage is a present-centred phenomenon, and that it is also a phenomenon of the present, linking it to specific moments in modernity such as the work of William Morris and the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) in late nineteenth century. Harvey (2000) however goes on to argue for the opposite – for a much deeper historical continuity for the concept of heritage, stating that the “temporal restrictions [in literature] seem to be completely self-imposed,” and that “heritage has always been with us and has always been produced by people according to their contemporary concerns and experiences.” Despite the prevalent perception of its modernity due to the recent “increasingly high profile of heritage in the public mind” (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996), and the apparent separation of the concept of heritage from its historical trajectory due to the strong links established between heritage and museum studies and professional practitioners who leaned the debate on heritage away from the conceptual and historical discourse leading to a blurring of a “vision” for the concept (Harvey, 2001). Harvey posits that “every society has had a relationship with its past, even those which have chosen to ignore it, and it is through understanding the meaning and nature of what people tell each other about their past; about what they forget, remember, memorialise and/or fake, that heritage studies can engage with academic debates beyond the confines of present-centred cultural, leisure or tourism studies.”

Harvey (2001) attempts to re-connect heritage with its historical trajectory and explore the relationship of societies with their past by examining a series of case studies of “heritage production and consumption within a pre-modern arena.” In the course of this exploration Harvey highlights the arguments that heritage is a process, that it is a man-made phenomenon and that it is the product of its social context and the dynamics of power of the times. In the selected case studies Harvey highlights the use of heritage to legitimise collective identities such as nationalistic and religious. Going back to medieval history, quoting Boholm (1997) he traces the manner in which the Catholic Church appropriated the remnants of Roman heritage and incorporated them into Christian narrative to transform Rome from a “decaying backwater into the foremost Christian metropolis.” “Specific heritage stories were mapped onto the cityscape and acted to represent significant sites and landmarks through the subtle re-interpretation of existing popular memories. Rome’s pagan heritage was used as a device to enhance the authority of the Pope” (Harvey, 2001).

Harvey illustrates the strategies put to use by the powerful elite (ruling or religious) in order to transform popular traditions into tools to legitimise their political aspirations and

maintain their power, by assigning these traditions a different meaning, teaching people to refer to their heritage in a specific manner, and creating a cultural capital based on the commodification of this new meaning. Despite the focus on the power of the elite in this process, it would not have been possible if it were not already rooted in the daily experiences of the ordinary people. As a whole, the process “represents a dialogue between folk experience, elite interests and actions of commodification and commercialism.”

Having established that heritage is a much more historically rooted phenomenon than is often conveyed in literature, there arises a need to explore this history and how it affects its definition. There are several excellent references that provide glimpses, summaries and analyses of the history of the development of a relationship with the past, of heritage and its institutionalisation (for example (Kennet, 1972); (Stungo, 1972); (Skovgaard, 1978); (Kain, 1981); (van Voorden, 1981); (Larkham, 1996)), but to present it here again would not serve the logic of the research. What is needed here is a review of the way the definition of heritage was institutionalised historically, and how it was shaped by the conflict and dialogue between the dominant discourse and the counter-discourse, which is of particular relevance to the context of developing societies.

Smith (2006) provides an illuminating analysis into and critique of the development of what she terms the “Authorised Heritage Discourse.” Smith focuses on four transformative moments, which had the greatest effect in framing the definition of the concept of heritage: Venice Charter, World Heritage Convention, Burra Charter, and the institutionalisation of the conservation of intangible heritage. The importance of Smith’s analysis lies partly in her unpacking of the ideologies and assumptions which appear in the semantics of the documents produced by discourse, and tracing and analysis of how these ideologies are challenged and changed as a result of international dialogue. She also reveals some techniques used by the authors to validate and propagate its principles.

a) Venice Charter, 1964:

The first “foundational text of conservation philosophy and practice” is the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites of 1964, known as the Venice Charter. This Charter was drafted in re-assessment of the Athens Charter of 1931 adopted by the First International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments and which “established international awareness about conservation issues, laid down a guideline to frame conservation philosophy and practice, and helped to influence the development of Western national practices and legislation” (Smith, 2006). ICOMOS, an international non-governmental organisation that comprises of a network of conservationists and heritage practitioners was subsequently founded in 1965 to support and enact the Venice Charter, and remains till this day one of the most powerful international and national influencers of the understanding, conservation and management of heritage.

In her analysis of the Charter, Smith takes an example of the first article in the Charter to illustrate her critique. The article represents one of the “foundational” attempts to define what heritage is and states:

“The concept of an historic monument embraces not only the single architectural work but also the urban or rural setting in which is found the evidence of a particular civilisation, a significant development or an historic event. This applies not only to great works of art but also to more modest works of the past which have acquired cultural significance with the passing of time.” (Article 1).

Smith notes that despite the diversity of the composers of the document (a committee consisting of participants from Mexico, Peru and Tunisia in addition to a large European presence) the Charter follows the ideologies and assumptions that are specific to developed nations of post-Enlightenment Western Europe, which “saw themselves as having reached a pinnacle of cultural evolutionary achievement.” These perceptions shaped the identity of these nations and framed the logic of their colonial expansion. These perceptions also framed the philosophy and definitions of heritage in Venice Charter. For example, in the article above, the reference to “civilisation,” or as Waterton (2005) puts it elsewhere: a “highly civilised nation,” carries over a notion of superiority that leads to taking for granted the idea that a monument or an architectural piece produced by this “civilisation” possesses by its nature an inherent value. This existential assumption and the naturalisation of the idea that the products of great (Western) nations are naturally significant is the basis of the “conserve as found” ethos; there is no need to justify the value of monuments from grand backgrounds – they are valuable per se. Smith notes the contradiction in treating the “more modest works of the past,” which “may acquire significance, not through innate value necessarily, but once they become old enough.” Although the document does not explain what is meant by “modest,” Smith argues that the document assumes that “it is known by the writers and readers of this document.” In this case it means non-Western and less “civilised” Western cultural contexts. And yet, the products of these contexts are not innately valuable, they only become valued with age as they turn into “antiquarian curiosit[ies].”

This logic leads to one of the main principles of management and conservation of heritage: “that the value or significance of a site or place should determine how that site or place is conserved and managed.” Furthermore, the value of the site is considered external to the heritage management process; the conservation process is considered an objective mechanism of presenting the meaning inherent in the site to the public while the meaning-making function of the process itself is obscured. “Management and conservation become things that are *done to* sites and place, but are not seen as organically part of the meaning-making process of heritage itself” (Smith, 2006).

In the years following the drafting of the Venice Charter, ICOMOS and UNESCO produced a great number of texts consisting of recommendations, conventions, charters and guidelines on multiple subjects in the field of safeguarding and conserving heritage, ranging from management of archaeological sites, to portable material culture, to the re-definition of certain principles, such as authenticity. And yet, these texts are also built on similar assumptions about the nature and value of heritage. These texts, as they “interlink and propagate,” create an international presence, and a “self-referential authority of conservation and management philosophy.” They “create a text of consensus.” And it is this consensus, the product of this intertextuality that “*is*” the Authorised Heritage Discourse (Smith, 2006).

b) The World Heritage Convention, 1972:

The World Heritage Convention or the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage ratified in 1972 by the UNESCO General Conference in Paris was drafted in answer to rising concern to the fast socio-cultural changes that accompanied the European post-war reconstruction, and also in response to counter the perceived threat to international cultural heritage sites. This convention led to the establishment of the World Heritage List for “cultural and natural sites of ‘universal’ importance,” which held the first inscriptions in 1978; and widened the definition of what constitutes heritage to include some concerns raised worldwide, especially in the North American practice (Smith, 2006). The definition of cultural heritage was divided into three types: “monuments,” “groups of buildings” and “sites,” which are defined in the first article of the Convention as follows:

“monuments: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art and science;

groups of buildings: groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art and science;

sites: works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view.” (Article 1).

Smith (2006) critiques this new development in definition stating that despite its attempts of inclusivity, it is still based on the same existential assumptions as the Venice Charter. So for example, monuments and buildings do not need much explanation as “they are obviously universally important,” but the introduction of “sites,” and their definition as the “works of man” (are not buildings and monuments works of man as well?) reveals the relatively inferior position of “sites” in terms of value. “Sites” tend to be those places that do not fit into the grand narratives of Western nationalism,” such as places of significance for Indigenous populations “where the division between ‘nature and culture’ is, from the point of view of post-Enlightenment Europe, less pronounced.” (Smith, 2006)

To illustrate the effect of this mentality on the international state of heritage, Smith follows Cleere’s (2001) analysis of the sites listed on the World Heritage List. In 2000, 55% of the 630 listings originated from European countries, 14% from Asia (most sites occurring in China and India), 12% from Latin America and the Caribbean, 11% from the Arab States, 5% from North America, 4% from Africa, and 1% from Australia and Oceania. The size of these divisions only slightly shifted in the listings of 2006 (49% out of 812 listings were located in Europe).

The division of categories in the list shows that the dominant discourse that is used to define heritage is highly Eurocentric, and this framing “affects the ability of certain cultures to have their sites perceived as heritage.” So for example, the sites listed in Africa are of colonial heritage, and there is an overwhelming over-representation of grand elitist architecture, that represents a national narrative (Smith, 2006).

The issue of “universality,” stressed so often in the Convention, is also problematic. As Cleere (2001)⁵ observes, it is an idea “deeply rooted in the European cultural tradition” derived from classical philosophy, and underpinning imperial expansion and the above-stated assumptions about Western cultural superiority. Stemming from this mindset, the dominant discourse of heritage as defined by this convention assumes that it is universally applicable, and that there “is, or must be, universal cultural values and expressions.” (Smith, 2006) This idea however, clashes in principle with the idea of cultural diversity, as Smith argues on Cleere’s behalf: “the cultural diversity of human experience... means that not only different histories will perceive different things as significant, but that cultural differences mean that not all cultures will share the same concepts of what constitutes heritage and heritage values, and that on occasion these cultural differences may be insurmountable.”

c) Burra Charter, 1979:

The World Heritage Convention fell under much criticism for its Eurocentric, elitist, biased nature and for the emphasis of tangible heritage. One of the documents produced to address this, specifically focusing on issues such as plurality and multi-vocality is the Burra Charter of 1979 (the Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance), based on Venice Charter and rewritten to be more relevant to the Australian context in 1999.

Smith (2006) highlights the positive transformations in the Burra Charter such as recognising “the need to involve people in the decision-making process, particularly those that have strong associations with a place” (Australia ICOMOS, 2005); introducing the concept of “cultural significance,” defined inclusively as “aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present or future generation” (Article 1.2); and substituting the narrow definitions of the terms “monument” and “site” by a more inclusive term of “place,” as it implicitly recognises the potential social value of heritage.

The Charter however, is still based on the same ideological assumptions as the ones before. Even when it calls for appreciation of multi-vocality and social inclusion in the heritage process, the involved social groups are treated as passive partners, in need of guidance by the experts. As the Charter states:

“Groups and individuals with *associations* with a place as well as those involved in its management should be provided with opportunities to contribute to and participate in understanding the *cultural significance* of the place. Where appropriate they should also have opportunities to participate in its *conservation* and management.” (Article 3.1, original emphasis).

“Changes to a *place* should not distort the physical or other evidence it provides, nor be based on conjecture.” (Article 3.2, original emphasis).

And elsewhere it states:

“Competent direction and supervision should be maintained at all stages, and any changes should be implemented by people with appropriate knowledge and skills.” (Article 30).

⁵ Quoted in Smith (2006).

Thus, although the Charter is developed in the direction of accepting the value of the intangible aspect of meaning in heritage, and the crucial involvement of community groups in creating and maintaining that meaning, this is “overshadowed by the appeals to authority and validity of professionals to prevent ‘distortion’ or to allow ‘conjecture’.” Community groups are only another aspect to be managed in the project of heritage (Smith, 2006).

The extent of understanding of the intangible aspect of meaning associated with “place” is not developed much either. As the Charter perceives the fabric of place as “all the physical material of the place” (Article 1.3), assuming that meaning and cultural significance are embodied, un-problematically in the place itself, and that it is only the material aspect that is problematic and in need of management and conservation.

Overall, the Burra Charter does not challenge the principles and assumption of the dominant heritage discourse, and despite the good intentions of the writers of the charter, argues Smith, the philosophies of the charter “are actively remade and reauthorised against the concerns of community inclusion,” thus sidelining the issue of significance and problems of meaning and the participation of communities in building that meaning to the outside of the dominant heritage discourse.

- d) Programmes for the conservation of intangible heritage 1989, 1993, 1998 and 2003:

To overcome the problem of the much criticised focus on tangible heritage, UNESCO initiated a series of measures to tackle the safeguarding of intangible heritage which culminated in 1989 by the adoption of a General Conference of the Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore. Furthermore, UNESCO established the Living Human Treasures Programme in 1993, proposed by the Republic of Korea and aimed at identifying, documenting and enabling bearers of intangible cultural knowledge and skills. This programme set precedence in the focus of preservation of knowledge and skills (Balke, 2001)⁶. In 1998 and “in recognition that the World Heritage Convention was not applicable to intangible heritage” UNESCO developed the programme for the Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity. This programme, following three Proclamations, managed to assemble an independent list of 90 masterpieces. In 2003, UNESCO adopted the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in an attempt to move from unbinding Recommendations to a hard-law Convention, which binds the States that are parties to the convention (Smith, 2006). The Convention offered a new wider definition of intangible heritage as:

“The practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognise as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them

⁶ Quoted in Smith (2006).

with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity.” (Article 1).

The significance of all these programmes lies in the marked change of the dominant discourse in favour of the issue of intangibility, and the recognition and acceptance of cultural change and diversity as it shapes intangible heritage. These programmes also offer an opportunity to challenge the established assumptions and values of monumentality, materiality and authenticity linked to heritage.

And yet, much critique is directed towards the seriousness and applicability of this “marked change,” and to the resistance of the dominant discourse of heritage to change established mindsets and assumptions in relation to the idea of heritagising intangible cultures. The applicability of the Convention is undermined by the abstention of influential Western countries (Australia, Canada, UK, Switzerland and USA) which did not vote alongside the 120 Member States (Kurin, 2004), an illuminating incident mentioned in Smith’s account is the proclamation of one of officials in a leading government heritage organisation that “UK has no intangible heritage.” The importance of these countries for the applicability of the Convention, aside from their general powerful political influence, lies in the fact that they are hubs of multiculturalism, and are the nations where indigenous right to shaping heritage is being contested. However, aside from the political circumstance that by accepting the idea of the need to address intangible heritage means accepting the role and validating the rights of indigenous peoples, this resistance is also the product of a conflict between the some aspects of the concept of intangible heritage, and some established aspects of the definition of heritage in the dominant discourse. Three of these aspects are monumentality, universality, and change.

The Western dominant discourse on heritage has always emphasised the notion of materiality and monumentality. Monuments are seen as an objective representation of the might of the culture of Western civilisation. Being objective in this way, these select monuments address a very wide universal audience, and it is believed that by their “nature” they hold the ability to convey a message of the history of the great civilisation that brought them to existence. The products of intangible heritage are in contrast not monumental. Oral histories and traditional practices address much smaller audiences, and being much more numerous and diverse due to smaller scale of practice, require a more intensive background of knowledge in order to appreciate them. This conflicts with the dominant mentality on two levels, the first is on the level of appreciating the immaterial and subjective, and the second is on the level of accepting that the bearers of intangible heritage have something to teach and not only a need to be taught.

The second aspect is the issue of universality, which lies at the basis of the dominant definition of heritage. There is a conceptual difficulty in valuing intangible heritage as universal heritage as it is produced by diverse cultures. But this conflict lies only at level with the Western assumption that their heritage is universal – an idea empowered by a legacy of colonial domination (Balke, 2001). For the idea that heritage (tangible or intangible), as Lowenthal (1998) argues, is “all things to all people is absurd;” this defies the innate dissonant nature of heritage (Smith, 2006). For example a temple might interest

different people on different levels: architectural, spiritual, historical, and it may hold no significance to some people at all.

The third aspect is the issue of cultural change, which lies at the basis of the definition of intangible heritage. The changeable nature of “living culture” allows for a change in values and meaning, which stands in contrast to the idea of the fixity and immutability of the value and meaning of intangible (dead) heritage. This view constricts the development of the definition of intangible heritage in two ways, the first consisting of obscuring the intangible aspect of meaning that the tangible materiality of heritage acts as embodiment of; while the second lies in the idea of the need to protect, or safeguard “living heritage” and its vitality, as conservation and safeguarding in practice are about freezing and fossilisation (Smith, 2006) (also (Amselle, 2004); (van Zanten, 2004)).

The programmes’ perception shaped by colonial baggage has been noted in many of its instances (van Zanten, 2004), and one of the main illustrations of this issue lies in the nature of the “masterpieces” listed by the Proclamation Programme. The listed items tend to be “colourful and exotic, those things that the West tends to romanticise;” they also tend to be of national value, thus leading to an under-representation of indigenous or minority heritage (also (Kurin, 2004); (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998)). Separating the Proclamation Programme list from the World Heritage list emphasised the separation of the tangible and the intangible aspects of heritage, and the exclusive and unequal valuing of the Western and non-Western cultures. For example Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) suggests that while the Nôgaku theater form is protected in Japan, neither the Bolshoi Ballet nor the Metropolitan Opera will be likely considered for listing. This instance reflects the feeling of superiority that accompanies the paternalism in seeking to protect a living piece of culture in a non-Western context, but assuming that the vitality of a similar piece of culture will preserve it in Western context.

From an analysis of the development of the framing of heritage and the development of the definition of intangible heritage above, it is evident that the Western conceptualisation of heritage that holds specific appreciation for monumentality, universality and fixity remains dominant in shaping the discourse and institutionalisation of heritage. Despite taking steps towards incorporating a more inclusive definition of heritage that is reflective of the reality of the condition of heritage outside the Western world, the dominant discourse continues to develop according to implicit assumptions based on post-Enlightenment ideologies.

To achieve and perpetuate this dominance, the discourse employs (or rather heritage experts and practitioners who contribute to the discourse employ) several techniques, in addition to the inter-textuality and self-reference mentioned above. One of these techniques is an uncritical building of assumptions into text, which are presented as an unquestionable “authority of the expertise,” equated to good common sense. For example Grieve (2005)⁷ observes that the principles of the Venice Charter are based on “enormous scholarly good sense;” without feeling the need to explain what it is that constitutes this “good sense.” The assumptions that are built into text in this manner are the assumptions of the dominant discourse, and they are framed in a vague manner. Although this vagueness is employed to promote inclusiveness in interpretation, it is also a tool in

⁷ Quoted in Smith (2006).

another technique of perpetuation of dominance. This vagueness sends the message that the reader of the document knows what the document means, in fact the exact message this technique sends is that the reader should possess the right knowledge and expertise (of Western conviction) to understand the underlying assumptions, constricting the readership to an exclusive minority. Other techniques include building a sense of fellowship with readers by appealing to morality and to the “duty” of safeguarding monuments for future generations. The readers are “invited to become members of the fellowship of ‘good’ practitioners” when they correctly encode and respond to latent messages and assumptions.

Despite the apparent dominance of the authorised discourse of heritage, and the apparent weakness of the counter-discourse in developing an inclusive theorisation and practice of heritage, it is important to emphasise the significance of the work that the counter-discourse performs. In the self-referential narrative that the dominant discourse builds around itself, it ascribes itself with more power than it actually possesses – this is one of the universal techniques of perpetuating dominance. And yet, despite the global dominance and power of the authorised discourse, the counter-discourse managed, and in a relatively short time-span, to challenge and amend the authorised discourse, and direct it towards a more inclusive framework. This circumstance in itself is very significant, and shows that the process of change is already set in motion, despite the resistance. It is also important to note that outside the realm of the dominant discourse and the counter discourse, which are often built in opposition and in reaction to each other, exist other discourses that frame human relationship with the past, which at times do not intersect with these binary discourses, and exist independently of the theoretical questions and assumption they pose and employ. One such relevant concept is the concept of tradition, as will be examined at length below.

4.2.1.3. Third approach: Defining heritage through comparison with relevant concepts

The third approach that can be beneficial towards building a definition of heritage is through comparison with other relevant concepts. In this case relevance can be framed with regard to the relationship of humans with the past. This relationship has been framed within concepts other than heritage, such as archaeology and folklore for example; however, the most prominent concept that heritage is compared to in literature (to the point of exclusivity) is “history,” and the topic of this comparison is regularly the issue of subjectivity. This is understandable in the context of Western strive for being scientific and objective – following the ethics of the Enlightenment. Another concept that can be compared to heritage is “tradition.” It is a concept that holds many similarities with the concept of heritage, to the point of synonymy. And yet, it is almost absent from literature on heritage. In the course of constructing the literature review for this research, no instances of comparison between the two concepts were noted. In the fieldwork conducted for this research however, tradition was a prominent term in the vocabulary used by the respondents in the definition of the concept in an open ended-question. Heritage was defined to the meaning of “the customs and traditions made by our grandfathers for our children” (22.6% of responses) and was explicitly mentioned in 31.6% of the definitions. When the respondents were also asked about the reasons they find heritage important in

an open ended question, 46.9% answered that it is “a source of knowledge about and perpetuation of the past” – a concept that implies continuity and one that can be strongly linked to the concept of tradition below.

And so, an unpacking of the concepts of history and tradition and their relationship with the concept of heritage is beneficial.

a) A conceptual definition of history

The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary (2007) defines history as “a narration of ... incidents;” “the continuous methodical record of important or public events;” or “the branch of knowledge that deals with past events.” According to Shils (1981), history is not only concerned with bringing forward “images of the past,” but also with critically improving and revising these images through scientific methods, such as establishment of temporal cause and effect sequence, and reliance on documented and reliable data accrued through archaeology, the study of written documents and images (Shils, 1981), and “it is there that historical narrative achieves its maximum coherence and integration, or ‘truth’” (Brett, 1996). History and historiography have a long history of their own, having made a great contribution to revising religious narratives and to the field of “national historiography.”

On the other hand, although history is a study of the past, it is in fact a product of the present. Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) propose that “the present selects an inheritance from an imagined past for current use and decides what should be passed on to an imagined future” transforming it through interpretation. This idea makes “all history ...contemporary history” (Croce, 1966); history is “the past through the eyes of the present” (Carr, 1961)⁸.

Thus, history assumes “the existence of episodes from the past ... that can be described, however imperfectly as really existing even if not directly experienced by the narrator, on the basis of whatever record is available and selected for use”(Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). Consequently, it becomes accepted that history is not factual but is formed by a “series of accepted judgments”(Barraclough, 1955) or “pre-figurations”(White, 1973) or “preconceptions”(Brett, 1996); and that “the facts of history do not exist until a historian creates them”(Carr, 1961). The creation of history, even through the most critical and scientific approach, requires interpretation, a process which makes it necessarily selective (Carr, 1961). This poses a particular difficulty to the construction of national histories, where affirming the value of the past while adhering to a truthful narration and the traditions of scientific and critical historiography becomes contradictory (Shils, 1981).

To sum, history is conceptualised as a contemporary, selective, subjective interpretation of past events.

b) A conceptual definition of tradition

Tradition (outside its theological conceptualisation) is defined as “a statement, belief, custom, etc., handed down by non-written (esp. oral) means from generation to generation;” or “a long established and generally accepted practice or custom” (SOED, 2007). Shils (1981) however, posits that tradition can be defined simply as “anything which

⁸ Both sources quoted in (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996).

is transmitted or handed down from the past to the present;" this definition does not assign a specific value to the nature of what is handed and thus it "includes material objects, beliefs about all sorts of things, images of persons and events, practices and institutions. It includes buildings, monuments, landscapes, sculptures, paintings, books, tools, machines." Shils does not abide by the focus of the dictionary definition of tradition on the non-written, intangible aspect and observes that "trāditiō"- the Latin origin of the word, indicates "a mode of transferring the ownership of private property in Roman law," which implicitly involves the material aspect.

However, tradition is more than the material things or the practices that are being handed down; for it is not the actions which make up practices and institutions that are being transmitted, as an action "ceases to exist once it is performed," rather "the transmittable parts of [actions] are the patterns or images of actions which they imply or present and the beliefs requiring, recommending, regulating, permitting, or prohibiting the re-enactment of those patterns." (Shils, 1981)

Furthermore, tradition is also selective in what it transmits, since transmitting the entirety of a tradition is beyond human power. As such, traditions are transmitted, enacted, re-enacted and modified by "living, knowing, desiring humans" (Shils, 1981). This interpretation and transmission of tradition ensures that it remains a product of the present, that the images of the past that are transmitted are transmitted according to the criteria of the present – tradition is the "present of things from the past" (Shils, 1981).

Tradition also has a normative aspect, "those who accept a tradition need not call it a tradition; its acceptability might be self-evident to them," thus some aspects of tradition are naturalised even for the ardent opponents of tradition, as no human being is free from the immense archaeological layers of knowledge, which comprise the tradition that constructs the human civilisation. Tradition comes in innumerable forms: from religious tradition, to traditions of arts and workmanship, to traditions of scientific methods. Shils argues that any pattern of actions and beliefs that extends over three generations or more becomes tradition. Humans become attached to the given, it becomes the natural way to do things; tradition provides stability and a convenient set of patterns for actions that are called for. However tradition is also dynamic and transformative, although "it takes great imagination and insight, persistence, rational powers ... to overcome what has been given," when humans become "discontented with the ineffectiveness of the given way of proceeding" inventiveness emerges to change the given patterns. Traditions change due to internal and external factors, as changes adherence to traditions and their content. Exposure and mobility which puts different traditions face to face, lead to an exchange of experiences, thus, there are shared traditions, among groups of people, and among generations.

Continuity is essential to tradition, "traditions are not independently self-reproductive or self-elaborating. Only living, knowing, desiring human beings can enact them and re-enact them and modify them." Tradition that is interrupted can at best be transmitted as a (static) image of that tradition, and at worst it dies off (Shils, 1981).

To sum, tradition is conceptualised as a contemporary, selective, subjective interpretation of continuous patterns of the past.

c) The relationship between heritage and history, and heritage and tradition

On a conceptual level, heritage, history and tradition are almost identical. They are all a past seen through the eyes of the present, all consist of selective subjective interpretations, and all can take intangible and tangible forms (the tangible form of history consists of historical artefacts for example). Shils (1981) argues that historiography and tradition (and this debate can be extended to heritage) have the same origin in the human mind and feelings: “the impulses of the human mind which have led to the creation and universal practice of historiography are at bottom akin to those which lead human beings to imagine their origins and prior development.” Humans have a need to acquire a sense of the past, which “in itself has no content but it seeks a content in the recent and remote past.” The content for this sense of the past is provided through forms such as history, heritage and tradition.

In practice however, and in literature, a vast rift rises among these concepts to the point of being diagonal antonyms. Heritage is critiqued in terms of its interpretative and subjective nature in comparison to the concept of history: heritage is perceived as a distortion of the truth and the “objective science” that history is. Lowenthal (1998) observes: “Heritage and history rely on antithetical modes of persuasion. History seeks to convince by truth and succumbs to falsehood. Heritage exaggerates and omits, candidly invents and frankly forgets, and thrives on ignorance and error.” Samuel (1994) critiques the “heritage baiters” for being hypocritical in their portrayal of the heritage industry and for presenting the attached historical narrative as real and objective. This attitude reflects the belief that the historical narrative is “correct” and that “heritage is busily destroying” it, and that until recently “all history, historical narrative, and other relationships with the past were somehow more genuine and authentic” (Harvey, 2001). History is constructed as an objective, scientific endeavour (Plumb, 1969), which relays “testable truth” (Lowenthal, 1998).

On the other hand, the counter-discourse critiquing the naturalised objectivity of history is increasingly recognising that the factual narrative that history portrays “cannot be so easily separated from the interpretation built upon it” (Johnson, 2000) (also (Carr, 1961); (Croce, 1966); (Shils, 1981)), meaning that even the discipline of history is not free from the subjective judgement calls of historians, and their socio-political contexts; which confirms the conceptual definition of heritage given above. Nora (1989) and Johnson (2000) take another approach to distinguishing between heritage and history by linking both to memory, whereby history is constructed as an elite institutionalised and archived practice, while heritage is the product of popular memory, relating the events of everyday life, often oral and unrecorded. In this approach, the relationship between the two concepts is not one of truth and falsehood, but of transformation, where history is democratised, and heritage forms “one link in the chain of popular memory” (Johnson, 2000)⁹.

The relationship of heritage and tradition is quite of a different nature. If there is a loud debate on the relationship between history and heritage, an examination of the relationship between heritage and tradition is secondary. However, the results of the analysis of this relationship are quite significant, as they reveal the role of modernity and

⁹ Quoted in (Harvey, 2001).

traditionality in the construction of heritage, which is of especial relevance in the context of developing, under-modernised, traditional societies and social groups.

d) The rise of modernity and the obscurity of tradition

The obscurity of theorisation on tradition in scientific debate is not limited to discourse on heritage. According to Shils (1981) this circumstance is strongly linked to the progressivism that espoused the project of Enlightenment. Beginning in late seventeenth century, the Enlightenment movement advanced a set of values which called for rationality, science, and above all progress. Progress in turn called for improvement, while improvement necessitated change. As such, tradition became unpopular and linked to ignorance, the unscientific method of accepting knowledge on the authority of elders, dogma, superstition, social hierarchy and intolerance, among other “vices” which did not satisfy “rationalistic and progressivistic censure.”

In the subsequent development of sciences and particularly social sciences, the skeptical attitude of Enlightenment towards tradition prevailed. The focus of modern sociology was on the here and now, on atemporal conceptions that lost the dimension of tradition. It was contended that “social forces” determine the actions of human beings, and that these actions could be explained in light of humans seeking power and fulfillment of interests. Tradition and history were dropped as sociology and social psychology became more “systematically scientific.” It was believed that “whatever history each of [the social] variables possesses has been deposited in its present state,” tradition was viewed as bits passed from generation to generation via assimilation and socialisation, but not as a “larger pattern of interconnected parts.” A structuralist approach to cultural studies was “constrained by a similar inclination to reduce elaborate symbolic constructions to elementary patterns of mind.” Modern society was conceived as moving towards a state of traditionlessness in which “interest pursued with the aid of reason [was] the predominant ground of action” (Shils, 1981).

These circumstances were strongly linked to the rise of agency and an interest in individuality. In reaction to the “crippling restraints” of Victorian morality of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries appeared a trend of romanticism which regarded establishing one’s identity as the first obligation of the individual. It was believed that “within each human being there is an individuality, lying in potentiality, which seeks on occasion for realisation but is held in the toils of the rules, beliefs, and roles which society imposes;” and individuals thus had to discover “what is contained in the uncontaminated self, the self which has been freed from the encumbrance of accumulated knowledge, norms, and ideals handed down by previous generations” (Shils, 1981).

And thus, tradition became the anti-thesis of progress and development. It became highly unpopular and was dropped from discourse. Even when a need for a relationship with the past persisted, it had to be satisfied with a different concept. Tradition would simply not do, and history was already normalised as a science, thus not accessible for reproduction by the common man. It can be noted that this is the moment that “heritage” started to gain popularity exponentially. But these circumstances apply only to the places (geographical and cultural) where Enlightenment and industrialisation have accomplished their modernising project. What about the places which were not modernised in this sense? And

how did tradition appear again in discourse strongly enough to manifest in Shils's work that forms the basis of this discussion?

In the first half of the twentieth century, a reactive animosity strongly emerged towards the "scientific, rationalistic, individualistic, and hedonistic" modern civilisation. The bourgeois society was aggressively critiqued for "uprooting" human beings from "an order which gave meaning to existence," of which tradition was an integral part. Major modern thinkers and writers such as Tönnies, Simmel, Spengler, Scheler, Barrès, Bergson, Weil, Gill, Chesterton, Tawney, Eliot, Henry Adams and Mumford among others, discussed this idea. It came to be believed that "before the coming of the ruinous modern society, the human race had lived in a condition of unbroken traditionality" (Shils, 1981). Nevertheless, no society was ever dominated by tradition to such extent, and nontraditional society is more a "reign of virtue than the societies which have been affected by the notion that traditions were hindrances to improvement" (Shils, 1981). The presence of tradition persisted in debate especially after the disillusionment with Modernism and the emergence of post-modernism, continuous development of post-colonial thought and the empowerment of voices of the under-modernised groups.

The importance of Shils discussion for this research lies in the fact that writing in 1981, decades after the interest in heritage has manifested in laws and relevant institutions, he defines tradition in the exact terms that heritage is defined today. Tradition in his view is the past (in its material and immaterial forms) being handed down to the present. This includes all the physical artefacts of the past ranging in scale from landscapes and urban fabric, to old buildings, ruins, antiques, monuments, coins and medals, artistic works and documents and records. He also focuses on the fact that tradition consists of two strata – the physical and the immaterial. "The tradition of physical artefacts is thus a dual tradition. It is a tradition of the physical substratum and a tradition of the images and beliefs and the ideas of procedure, technique, or skill which have gone into them." Without the physical stratum, Shils continues, the "stratum of interpreted symbols," which includes all of the above, could not endure.

From a discussion of the conceptual differences and similarities of heritage, history and tradition, it is noticeable that the three terms are quite alike. On the other hand, there are some intrinsic differences between the three terms, which lead to a conflict in their manifestation in practice, since it is assumed that they are similar. The focus in this research will be on the relationship of heritage and tradition, as it will help construct a working definition that is relevant to the context of traditional societies in transition in developing countries.

4.2.1.4. Fourth approach: defining heritage through model-based frameworks

The fourth approach emerging in the surveyed literature on heritage is one that adapts models and frameworks produced initially to explain processes of cultural or economic production. Of these models, three stand out based on industrial analogy, the process of cultural production and semiotics respectively.

a) The “industrial analogy” model

The first model (Figure 4-1) is proposed by Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) and based on an “industrial analogy,” in its assumption of an “assembly resource-product-consumption system” and is “strongly influenced by the marketing science.” This model consists of several components: 1) a resource base of “raw materials” which consists of a “varied mixture of past events, personalities, folk memories, mythologies, literary associations, surviving political relics, together with the places, whether sites, towns, or landscapes with which they can be symbolically associated;” 2) a process of transformation which involves both the selection of specific resources over others and converting them into “products” through “interpretation,” whereby “intangible ideas and feelings such as fantasy, nostalgia, pleasure, pride and the like” are made to be conveyed through the physical products; 3) the heritage product, which is principally “a response to the specific needs of actual or potential users;” and 4) the “preserve-as-found” ethos which postulates that the heritage stock is limited, by proposing that because heritage is a product of interpretation, Tunbridge and Ashworth transform the understanding of heritage by arguing that it is “infinitely creatable in response to demands and expectations and management skills at exploiting these, rather than the availability of materials.” This model allows dynamism to be accounted for in regard to heritage industry, as it is framed as not only reactive to changing attitudes and demands in terms of creating heritage, but also causative, as it influences aspects of cultural life in a process of recreation of meaning.

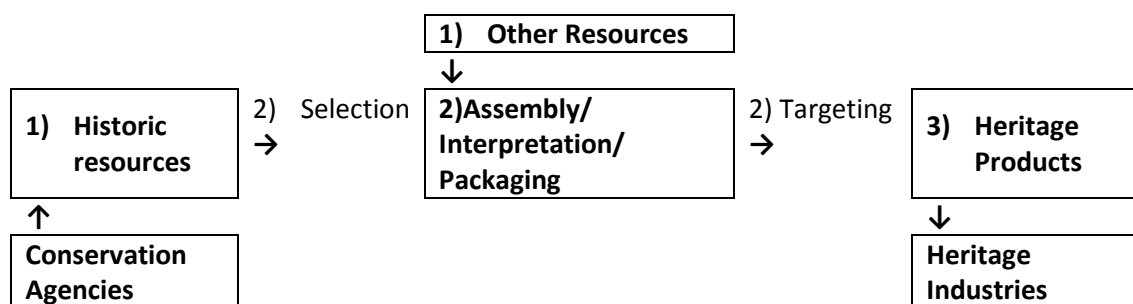


Figure 4-1: A model of heritage production (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996).

b) The “process of cultural production” model

Another model discussed in literature expands the understanding of heritage from an industrial (resources – processing – product) view, incorporating and acknowledging a wider process of the cultural production of meaning and interpretation involved in the construction of heritage. This model is proposed by Graham et al. (2000) and based on Stuart Hall’s (1997) “circuit of culture” (also mentioned in (Gay et al., 1996)).

This model stems from communication theory and conceptualises interpretation of heritage through the idea of representation. In his circuit of culture Hall proposes that culture is essentially concerned with the production and exchange of meaning and its real effects. In terms of heritage, on the other hand, meaning is marked by identity, and is being produced and exchanged through social interaction in a variety of media, as well as being produced through consumption by the user. Furthermore, meanings regulate our practices by helping

set rules, norms and conventions (Graham, Ashworth & Turnbridge, 2000). This model highlights five interdependent moments in the cycle of production and consumption of heritage as shown in Figure 4-2.

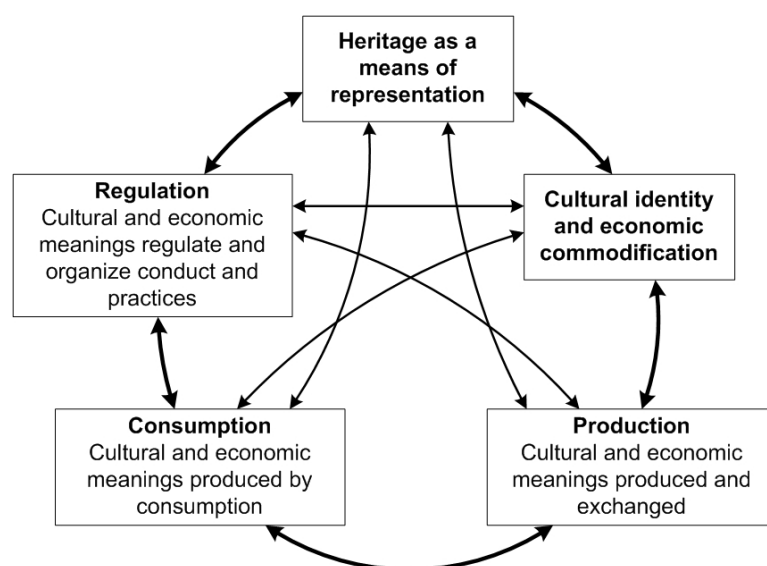


Figure 4-2: A circuit of heritage. Source: Graham et al. (2000) adapted from Hall (1997).

The two models summarised above reflect the concept of the construction of heritage as a dynamic process and are useful for an analysis that is rooted in both the institutional/industrial and the cultural contexts. The two models reflect respectively the two main uses of heritage noted in literature and share a crucial appreciation of the role of power dynamics of social groups, the producer, the consumer and the market in the construction and conceptualisation of heritage.

In this research however, the aim is to examine the moment that precedes the processes addressed by these models: the moment when the most basic framework of the concept of heritage is formed, before being loaded, created and recreated by cultural and industrial processes. I attempt to construct a basic definition of the concept to see how well it translates outside Europe and modernised societies, and if the problems that arise (and subsequently form the essence of our research questions) can be located on this basic level. One such model can be constructed based on linguistics, and more precisely, semiotics.

c) The “semiotics” model

Semiotics can be defined as “the branch of knowledge that deals with the production of meanings by sign systems in various fields, especially in language or literature” (SOED, 2007). Semiotic analysis is widely applied in the fields of cultural and communication studies to unpack the process of representation and make explicit the layers of meaning in texts, images and actions. Its application to the construction of the concept of heritage can reveal the generic tactics of the cultural processes and power dynamics involved.

Constructing a semiotic model to assist in the understanding of the concept of heritage is strongly linked to the idea of the “circuit of culture,” but focuses on the moment of “representation” on a fundamental level. This is enabled through the linguistic methods

used in the deconstruction of the components of the symbolic system of signs and meaning that constitutes the concept, which manifest in both the tangible and the intangible forms. The strength of this model lies in its exposure of the power dynamics latent in the process of representation, and its ability to help us distinguish between the limitations intrinsic to the conceptualisation of heritage, and the limitations imposed by the process of its cultural construction. Taking a lead from cultural and communication studies, and in order to carry this analytical method over to the fundamental concepts of heritage studies, this research explores the potential of application of semiotics to the concept of heritage in the next chapter.

4.3. Problematising inherent sources of conflict in the dominant definition of heritage

From the survey of definitions of heritage above, across the dominant discourse and the counter-discourse, it is possible to assimilate a definition that would provide a general description of what heritage is. This definition can be further analysed according to three hierarchical levels:

- the semantic level – the most basic level which consists of the linguistic definition of the word;
- the conceptual level – a theorisation of what the concept should be;
- the level of practice – the actual characteristics of the concept in application.

As discussed above, it appears that there is a gap in the conceptualisation of heritage between the ideal of an inclusive, multi-dimensional, fair and sustainable relationship with the past, and between its contested, exclusive and commodified reality. This gap between what heritage “is” and what it “should be” manifests most profoundly in practice, as evidenced by the multiplicity of problems that emerge during projects of conservation and debates surrounding the history of its institutionalisation. The push and pull between constructing an idealistic versus a realistic definition of heritage is what amounts in the end to the creation of the multi-layered construct, shaped by the history of its development. The purpose of examining the concept here is to expand its critique below these layers, to delve deeper into the conceptual foundation, as it “is”, in order to illuminate the specific disjunctions and moments of conflict that appear between its ideal form and its reality. From the definitions of heritage in discourse, a summary of characteristics that defines heritage can be compiled, and critically addressed.

To summarise:

Heritage is a process with tangible and intangible products; it is a process of interpretation; it is intrinsically dissonant; it is a “present-centred” relationship with the past; it is not a contemporary phenomenon; it is heavily invested in the construction of identity and cultural power dynamics; and it is an economical resource of increasing significance.

The first characteristic to examine is the definition of heritage as a process. This idea has rightly taken much focus in literature, to the extent that Hewison (2001) proposes to consider it a “verb.” And while it might seem counter-productive to argue with an idea meant to reflect the dynamism of the concept, it might be necessary to do so. I argue that

heritage is a “noun;” it is a product of an extremely dynamic process – which is the “construction of heritage.” Looking back at the “heritage cycle” proposed by Graham et. al., there is a need to remember that it is based on a more generic “circuit of culture” that can be applied to any process of construction (and consumption) of meaning – in heritage, or in arts, or in any other cultural phenomenon, and that both the tangible and intangible manifestations of heritage are products of this “cycle.” Heritage is not unique in the power dynamics that articulate it; it is subjected to similar cultural dynamics of power that work on building of other cultural constructs, such as identity, or the arts. Why is it important to stress this detail? Because by applying an illusion of action to the concept of heritage, it is reified. The agency is shifted from the people – the actual actors responsible for activating the “cycle of heritage” to the inanimate “noun,” thus obscuring the actors and making it easier to naturalise and attach certain cultural concepts and values to the resulting construct. This matter is discussed further in the following chapter, through the application of semiotic analysis.

Heritage is a construct of meaning. It is a product of selection and interpretation and thus it is necessarily subjective, even when it is a “faithful” interpretation of the “truth”. This concept has been discussed at length in literature, but the idea that needs to be stressed here is one relevant to dissonance as proposed by Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996), which forms one of the essential concepts in this research. Tunbridge and Ashworth attribute the dissonance of heritage to reasons of market segmentation and its “zero-sum” nature, meaning that when heritage belongs to someone, it thus logically does not belong to someone else. But this is an overtly material, fixed and practice-led view of the concept, it obscures the ideas of shared and transformative heritage. On the other hand, the concept of disinheritance and the overall work of Tunbridge and Ashworth do imply the idea that needs to be re-stated here: heritage is intrinsically dissonant because it is subjective.

In view that the main purpose for the existence of heritage is to satisfy a need for a relationship with the past in order to construct and legitimate one’s identity, it can be argued that heritage is a child of modernity, in the sense that the need for the construction of the concept was brought by the drastic changes that accompanied the Enlightenment and the subsequent process of modernisation in the West. Above, Harvey (2001) argues that interest in heritage can be traced to medieval Europe. Elsewhere examples are given for the utilisation of heritage in the Roman Empire and later by the Catholic Church, but these are individual cases; the rise of heritage as a cultural phenomenon on a collective scale can only be attributed to times of fundamental and continuous socio-cultural change that accompanied the industrialisation of societies, the focus on nationhood, which are all products of modernity. The most drastic changes that propelled heritage into the institution it is today were brought on by the Second World War and the following modernisation processes.

Here the concept of stability discussed in the context of the connotative system is of particular relevance. The denotative meaning of the sign is the most stable meaning, it is naturalised; however, when the sign becomes part of the connotative system, this meaning is disembedded and destabilised. The human psyche seeks stability; especially in the context of modernity, which creates circumstances of risk and doubt (Giddens, 1991). So in the connotative construction of the sign, the need for stability translates into a need to

naturalise the new concept – make it appear historically self-evident and objective; and also by seeking out the most stable aspects of the sign, which are in the case of heritage the material, tangible aspects. And so, the need for stability explains the preference for “preserve as found” ethos in the dominant conceptualisation of heritage, it also explains the preference of material heritage, its most stable and fixed form.

Heritage is defined as a present centered relationship with the past. But it is not just a relationship with any past, the past that heritage refers to is “inherited,” interrupted, and thus “frozen” or “dead.” As argued above, this is the main difference between the two fundamentally similar concepts of heritage and tradition. The centrality of the idea of “interruption” to the conceptualisation of heritage as “is” is the source of conflict that arises in locations which have not undergone the same development processes as the industrialised and modernised West, and thus have not developed a similar approach to dealing with the past. These societies have different conceptions of the past, which has transformed in different ways in reaction to development and globalisation, and the artificial introduction of the conceptual connotation resulting from the idea of “interruption” cannot apply to all (for example the “preserve-as-found” ethos). The concept of “tradition” as defined by Shils applies more solidly as a definition of a relationship with the past in social groups where continuous patterns of thought and action persist, even if in a transformed form, as will be discussed below for the case of tribal groups in Jordan.

The modernised groups, on the other hand, have had their continuous patterns of socio-cultural existence drastically altered to the point of interruption, thus they preserve a frozen image of the past, and develop a distance and a sense of Otherness from the past, which transforms it into a reified object. In non-modernised social groups such sense of Otherness is not fully developed, as the past permeates everyday life. Tradition (patterns of the past) continues in everyday life, transforming itself to suit the needs of its users. It is thus taken for granted by its owners who are desensitised to it. To sum, tradition is a relationship with a living past, while heritage is a relationship with an interrupted past.

However, to align heritage or tradition with certain modernised or non-modernised groups undermines the complexity of the situation. In view that all societies have certain practices continuing in a transformed manner from the past into the present (manners of eating, dressing, social customs), and other practices that have undergone the “interruption” and radical change, the divergence of heritage and tradition could also be feasibly applied to practices instead of social groups. For the purposes of this research, both approaches are investigated with a focus on the differences and similarities among social groups. Numerous studies have already discussed the divergent practices expressing a relationship with the past in Jordan, and what this study attempts to achieve is a horizontal representation of how wide and deep these expressions exist in the Jordanian society.

A semantic analysis of the concept of heritage (in English) aids in highlighting some of its characteristics, especially the role of agency and reflexivity in its construction, as well as reinforcing the centrality of the idea of temporal interruption.

Agency plays a significant role in the construction of heritage. The dictionary definition of heritage stated above can be considered of interesting relevance to the discussion of the relationship of heritage and agency. Shorter Oxford English Dictionary (2007) defines

heritage as “that which is or may be inherited, or the fact of inheriting,” and the verb to “inherit” as to “come into possession of, as a right; and take or receive (property, a privilege, title, etc.) as an heir after the death of a former possessor.” The suffix “age” in the word heritage is defined as “forming nouns with general sense of appurtenance [possession] or collectives.” Three significant concepts can be derived from these definitions: the concept of “right,” “possession,” and sequence in time as implied by the word “after” in the final definition of the verb. The first two concepts posit that heritage is a right for the inheritor to possess. To practice this right the inheritor must lay claim of ownership and must practice ownership on both the physical and the psychological level, through use and through the feeling of belonging – a feeling that heritage belongs to her and that she belongs to heritage, which she consummates through discourse and through use. This “rights” approach to understanding heritage involves agency and reflexivity (conscious awareness of choice); it is an active process, one must actively and reflexively choose to assert ownership of heritage in order to establish the relationship that validates that heritage. A past which is not claimed does not constitute heritage. The principle of reflexive agency in possession is perhaps the most important factor to differentiate among heritage, history and tradition. What transforms historical narrative and historical artefacts into heritage is claim of possession – which is a reflexive act of agency. Reflexive claim of possession is also the difference between heritage and tradition; the relationship between the user and tradition is not reflexive, one is not fully aware of the tradition she possesses – as tradition is continuous, she is desensitised to being conscious of tradition, it is a fact of everyday life that surfaces only in opposition to non-tradition, there is no need to claim ownership of something you possess so fully you take it for granted. This also serves to reinforce the argument for the strong link between heritage and modernity, as discussed above, although agency is present in every individual in every moment of time, the modern society is conceptualised on an expectation of agency on all levels from the individual to the collective. In traditional groups the practice and expectation of agency is exponentially more limited, as tradition is deemed to determine the roles and choices an individual and a collective may take in most walks of life. The purpose of discussing the idea of agency and reflexivity in regard to a relationship with the past is not to reinforce the opposition of heritage and tradition, for it is argued above, both constructs are conceptually similar, and manifest in complex and numerous manners; the purpose is rather to emphasise and explain the different forms the human relationship with the past may take.

The concept of temporal sequence as derived from the dictionary definition of heritage also reinforces the idea of interruption. Tradition continues (though in transformative manner) through the past into the present. Heritage on the other hand is conceptualised with a temporal interruption. There is a boundary that separates the past from the present, in the legal sense it’s the inheritor’s death, and whatever falls temporally ahead of this boundary cannot be thought of as one’s heritage, because it is not inherited, it is rather created by oneself (although it might form a heritage for future generations). This is reflected in debates on the time-frame of what can be recognised as heritage.

Recognition is also a condition for the conceptualisation of heritage. Due to the role of “otherness” and interruption in the construction of the concept, there is an intrinsic need for the authorisation and validation of the inherited past as part of the inheritor’s identity.

Lack of expressed validation implies a weakness of ownership. If possession is not claimed and contested, differentiation of ownership is not achieved. Validation and legitimisation in construction of heritage is a cyclical process: heritage is needed to legitimise identity, and in return, a strong identity supports the preservation of heritage.

Going back to the idea of the three levels of definition: the semantic, conceptual and practical, and deriving from the analysis above, it is evident that the concept of heritage has a source of conflict on the semantic level, because it necessitates interruption. Ancestors must die before inheritance takes place. And the choice of coined term “heritage” in discourse over other similar connotations such as “patrimony” or “legacy” might indicate its suitability to the reality of what it describes.

On the conceptual level, when heritage is simply constructed as a relationship with the past, the contradictions subside. On this level, heritage can be arguably analogous to other conceptualisations of relationships with the past, such as history and tradition, but not equivalent. However, a characteristic of the process of conceptualisation (or the construction of meaning) is that inherent meanings can be obscured and new meanings attached; thus the conflict latent in the semantic definition of a concept can be overcome or emphasised. In the context of modernity, the contradictions latent in its condition, as well as the power dynamics that operate the process of cultural production, lead to an emphasis of interruption and other sources of conflict in definition, such as monumentality, universality, fixity and materiality, as discussed above.

Subsequently, the level of conceptualisation of heritage becomes informed by practice in a reversal of the hierarchical relationship. The issues and points of discourse that arise in practice contribute to the conceptualisation of heritage and become permanent fixtures in its definition. One example of this process is saying that heritage is “inherently dissonant.” There is nothing in the semantic or even the conceptual levels of the definition of heritage that necessitates dissonance, hence it is not inherent. It is rather informed by practice and naturalised as a characteristic of the concept – it is made inherent.

Level of definition	Source of conflict
Semantic level	The characteristic of “interruption”
Conceptual level (what heritage should be)	None in principle, but all the conflicts of the level of practice by reversal of the hierarchical relationship
Level of practice (what heritage is)	Conflicts produced by contradictions of the condition of modernity + conflicts resulting from the tactics of power dynamics

Table 4-1: A summary of the three levels of definition of heritage and the conflicts that arise at each level.

In the discussion above, the objective is to compile a multi-faceted dominant definition of heritage from literature, analyse its characteristics and produce a more ‘realistic’ definition that would highlight the sources of conflict in practice. From a synthesis of the ideas argued above, the following definition can be proposed:

Heritage is a contemporary subjective and selective interpretation of an interrupted past, a product of the need for identity-validation created by the conditions of modernity, and is achieved through a process of the cultural production of meaning guided by reflexive agency latent in claims of ownership.

This definition does not represent the “ideal” to be strived for in practice, but rather reflects the reality of what the dominant definition of heritage developed to mean. The concept of “tradition” as revealed by literature, connotes a more continuous and naturalised relationship with the past. However, these differences cannot be viewed as intrinsically negative or positive characteristics of either concept, as this depends on the cultural construction of the past in different social contexts.

4.4. Illustrating moments of conflict in the conceptualisation and practice of heritage in Jordan

So far several sources of conflict have been identified and proposed in the “actual” conceptualisation of heritage, of which of most importance are the ideas of the necessity of interruption and the need for reflexive agency in order to overcome the naturalisation of the relationship with the past. To better illustrate these ideas, support the arguments proposed above, and link them to the context of Jordan, two examples can be borrowed from Linda Layne’s article “the dialogics of tribal self-representation in Jordan,” namely an exhibition of “traditional products” in the village of Kreimah in the Jordan Valley, and the use of traditional embroidered women’s dress in the representation of local identity.

a) The exhibition:

Layne (1989) describes an exhibition she attended during her fieldwork in the Jordan Valley in 1981. The exhibition was organised at the Kreimah Community Centre located in the northern end of East Jordan Valley, and was on the theme of “local culture” and “traditional products.” It consisted of objects of everyday use such as straw mats, embroidered dresses, carved coffee grinders, and ingredients of local cuisine such as spices, herbs and drained yogurt (lebane). All of the items were handmade and used in the local everyday life, but not necessarily locally produced. The visitors of the exhibitions were mostly local users of the Centre. It was an exhibition of “themselves to themselves;” most of the objects were familiar even to Layne through her stay there, and even the captions of the objects did not provide any contextual information other than the name of the product, as it was deemed too “self-evident.” Layne’s analysis of the case was instigated by a sense of wonder about the reason for such an exhibition which even she, an anthropologist “eager to learn more about tribal culture... was disappointed [with]” for not being more interesting.

Layne attempts to find the need for such an exhibition, a newly introduced concept to the village, in Mitchell’s (1988) study of the colonial process in Egypt, which employed exhibitions as a tool of cultural dominance with their “remarkable claim to certainty,” where everything is organised and systematised and purveys a sense of knowledge and of power. She also proceeds to discuss the reason for presenting objects as representations of traditional life and the choice of theme “traditional products” for the exhibition linking it to an obsession with products rather than producers that resulted from the division of labor in industrial capitalism, in contrast to the presumed state of things in a tribal society where productivity is “part of interpersonal relations and an embodiment of human rather than abstract values” noting that “tribal societies are not obsessed with products as such.”

Layne observes that although the act of collective exhibitionism is a Western concept, it is a “way of knowing” that has been appropriated by the rest of the world. For example, in

Amman exhibitions have become frequent since the seventies (Ministry of Planning, 1986) and are often organised under the sponsorship of foreign cultural centers. The exhibitions cover topics such as local and European art, archaeology, photography and books; they are inaugurated by Jordanian dignitaries and are often reported in local news. In the case of the exhibition organised by the tribal community of the village of Kreimah, Layne argues that it represents an “invention of tradition,” in the sense that everyday life is metaphorised into tradition. Layne argues that in Kreimah the “objects made ‘traditional’ are neither fictitious nor dead” and suggest that the Bedouin people bracketed objects of everyday use as traditional not for purposes of cynicism and deflation of high culture such as the case of Warhol’s Campbell soup can, but rather for the purpose of enhancing the significance and value of these everyday items by removing them from their everyday realm of use (as per (Appadurai, 1986). The reason for this process, she proposes, is a pursuit of honor (defined in the Mediterranean context as the “conferral of public esteem upon a person as the reward for successful power maneuvers” (Gilmore, 1987)). The value of honor in the Bedouin culture has been discussed on numerous occasions, and the expression of honor can take forms ranging from hospitality, deference to elders, abiding by a modest code of dress, belonging to an extended and worthy genealogy, to the extreme form of honor killings. By displaying and venerating objects of everyday use, the honor showed to these pieces extends to their users, who are in turn “viewed as honorable people who value their traditions.” (Layne, 1989)

However, it can be argued that the idea that the people of Kreimah “metaphorised’ everyday objects into “tradition” suggests an assumption that these objects were not traditional to start with, and that tradition exists primarily in the realm of the past and does not extend to ordinary everyday objects. Layne’s disappointment with the contents of the exhibition also suggests that her expectations were to encounter objects that were outside the realm of the everyday, objects that she had not come across in her term of residence in the village. Despite the fact that Layne uses the term “tradition,” the meaning of the term seems to be equivalent to the term “heritage” as defined above, in the sense that it incorporates the expectation of an interruption in the historical development of the “traditional objects.”

Another point of interest in Kreimah’s exhibition, in addition to the circumstance that everyday objects were displayed, is the fact that the people did not find it necessary to explain the exhibited objects. This suggests certain innocence in terms of displaying one’s past, and selecting object to represent that past. There is no doubt that in the past of the people of Kreimah there are much more sophisticated cultural instances that could have been presented, however, it can be argued that a sufficient distance or “otherness” from the past has not been developed, in order to reflexively distinguish and de-naturalise the components of the past according to the standards of the newly introduced practice of “exhibiting.” Another important aspect to note is the background of the village’s inhabitants, which is Bedouin – originally consisting of nomadic tribal lifestyle, which by its nature gives more importance to immaterial cultural constructs. Thus, the obtained honor Layne’s referred to in her analysis, may be not stemming as much from putting the objects on display and internalising the honor those objects receive, as from accommodating the

“visitors” wish for an exhibition, which coincides with Kreimah’s conception of honorable hospitality.

b) The traditional dress:

Another traditional object that can be used to illustrate instances of conflict in the conceptualisation and practice of heritage in Jordan is the traditional embroidered Bedouin dress *dilig*. The *dilig* is usually a “black, full-length, long-sleeved, embroidered dress, worn by middle-aged and older women as part of their daily attire,” and the embroidery decorating the dress increases in expanse and intricacy in proportion to the attire’s cost and the importance of the occasion it is worn at (Layne, 1989). The *dilig* has been subject to transformation and invention in line with the times, and have received increasing public attention in Jordan and the world in the 1980s, when it was repeatedly worn by Queen Noor on formal occasions, and when the private collections of prestigious Jordanian ladies such as Wedad Kavar and Sita Huneiti al-Hadid attained international recognition via exhibitions and publications. Due to political reasons to be discussed later, the traditional dress was transformed and commercialised into a symbol of the Jordanian nation.

In an interview with Wedad Kavar during the fieldwork conducted for this research in 2009, she noted that the types of dress that the women wear in the East and the West Banks of Jordan historically differed according to the area the dress belonged to, especially in terms of embroidery. However, with the increased interaction of social groups, new hybrids of traditional embroidery could be found, which would combine the motifs associated with the West Bank with stitch types associated with Bedouin dress of the East Bank, pointing to the presence of a cultural fusion. Kavar’s collection of traditional dresses is of regional importance, has featured in several publications and exhibitions, and is waiting to be housed in a museum in Amman. This collection resulted from a life-time effort to preserve the cultural heritage of Palestine and Jordan, which found much royal and public support in the 1980s. Kavar also put much effort into sustaining embroidery and traditional tailoring skills by supporting many women working in the field. However, as Kavar notes, the women’s interest in recent years in dress has changed. Numerous women are approaching her to buy their personal embroidered dresses as they convert to the strict Islamic code, which discourages the use of color and ornament in order to preserve modesty and avoid visual attention. The nationalist symbolism associated with the dresses is losing potency, and the respectability achieved by donning a traditional dress in the past is achieved today by ascribing to the religious code. Kavar appeared saddened by these circumstances and noted that this shift of identity forms a big threat to the future of the traditional dress. However, the dress, even if taken out of the functional realm of the everyday retains its symbolic value. Upon interviewing members of the Favez family (who belong to a prominent Jordanian tribe of Bedouin origins), I encountered three generations of men and women. The man, H.E. Feisal al-Favez, giving me an interview on the history of development of Jordanian identity in a domestic setting, wore the traditional white dress *thob*; upon interviewing his sister, who lives in an affluent Ammani neighborhood, and whom I always saw in “Western” attire, confided that she had a traditional dress to wear to special occasions, and that she hoped that her daughter would do the same, although she doubted that. When I interviewed her aunt, a very sociable and lively lady, in the salon of her opulent home where she receives family and friends, she was wearing an informal

sleeveless traditional dress layered over a chiffon blouse, and revealed that she wears it more often than not.

And so, the transformation of the traditional dress from an everyday object of high utilitarian value and limited symbolic value into an object of limited utilitarian value and high symbolic value illustrates well a transformation from a naturalised product of continuous tradition, into a reified product symbolic of belonging to an interrupted past. This example contributes to confirming the characteristics emphasised in the “actual” definition of heritage produced above.

4.5. An operational definition of the concept of heritage and the role of power dynamics in the construction of its meaning

The purpose of this chapter is to develop an understanding of instances of conflict latent in the conceptualisation of heritage, which might contribute to the dissonance and apparent apathy towards heritage that is hypothesised to form the basis of the research problem.

Beginning by assembling a body of definitions of heritage in reference to the wealth of the literature available on the topic, I examine the analytical methods used, ranging from the descriptive, to the comparative, to the historical, to the use of processual models. One of the first observations to come out of this exercise is that, for historical reasons, the dominant definitions of heritage are largely informed by the practice of its conservation, as experienced by the West or by reactions to this practice. The process of modernisation, industrialisation and the ethics of Enlightenment have substantial influence on the conceptualisation of heritage leading to the construction of a conceptual framework which might not be applicable to social groups outside this worldview.

Recognising the complexity of the concept, I compile a summary of the “actual” characteristics of heritage from literature in lieu of a definition, and then proceed to attempting to compare it to what an “ideal” definition of heritage might be. To achieve this, I first critically examine the compiled characteristics and question notions such as extended historicity of heritage, dissonance and disinheritance, and the role of cultural interruption in the creation of heritage. Ideal definitions of heritage in literature are scarce however; it is often hinted what heritage should be in relation to problems in practice, but the process of the theoretical push and pull in defining heritage by dominant institutions (as discussed above in relation to the inclusion of intangible heritage in official definitions of heritage, for example) leaves the dominant definitions vague and conflicting.

One of the main reasons for the discord in defining heritage (aside from the striving to assert ideological superiority by the dominant groups, as in the case of abstention of voting in regard to intangible heritage by influential Western countries) is its role as an economical driver for development through cultural tourism. In a globalised context where collective identities face many challenges and transformations, the past is undermined as the historical legitimiser of identity and a resource for belonging, it is objectified, commodified and entered into the economical process. The shift of emphasis from being a cultural construct to being an economical construct removes the past further from the realm of everyday life into something that has to be experienced through the “market.” In the

process, the sustainability of heritage is undermined as its meaning is no longer produced through the same cultural production cycle.

In the course of attempting to construct an operational definition of heritage, I extend the analysis by comparing it to analogous concepts that frame the human relationship with the past: history and tradition. Tradition emerges as a concept whose dominant definition does not include the necessary interruption suggested by the concept of heritage, and despite having acquired a pejorative value due to its assumed conflict with (Western) rationalism, it appears to be more “ideally” suited to describe a relationship with the past. However, the ultimate conclusion that could be taken from this analysis is that there perhaps is no “ideal” definition of heritage. Given that people’s relationship with the past differs according to culture and context, expecting one universal definition of this relationship is unrealistic. In this research, the most appropriate operative definition of “heritage” would be its simple connotation of a “relationship with the past,” as I attempt to explore how that relationship is expressed by different social groups in Amman in terms of meaning, tangibility vs. intangibility, temporal and geographical scales, personal belonging, and collective identity.

However, the definition of heritage in practice, especially in the realms of conservation, development and tourism, remains subjects to the dynamics of dominant and counter-dominant discourses. The attachment of meaning to heritage, especially in the built environment and urban spaces is largely a product of these dynamics. The next chapter explores methods of analysing how meaning manifests in space focusing on the use of the semiotic analysis, and the role power dynamics play in this process, which forms the second proposed source of conflict that arguably manifests in the research problem.

Chapter Five: voices of dissonance conceptualising a Jordanian past

5.1. Introduction

In the previous chapters the research has addressed sources of discord latent in the process of production and consumption of meaning, the conceptualisation of heritage and the weakening of its link to identity construction. In the following chapters, the ideas developed so far will be explored and problematised in the socio-spatial context of the case study. Using Jacobson's framework of communication proposed in Chapter three, I will address the functions of context, message, sender and receiver, channel and code that together shape the process of construction of Jordanian heritage in the space of al-Balad; and then develop the analysis via the exploration of al-Balad according to synthesised framework derived from the ideas of Barthes, Baudrillard and Lefebvre.

This chapter attempts to understand the complex relationship among the actors involved in the construction and consumption of heritage in Jordan. An analysis of these actors can be performed on several layers. To start with, they can be viewed as senders and receivers of meaning, or encoders and decoders. However this relationship is not dichotomous. Despite the apparent dominance of the official institutions concerned with constructing historical narratives and representing heritage, the decoding of these narratives is not straightforward, in terms of reaction, it could take several forms: hegemonic, negotiated or oppositional. On the other hand, the decoding of meaning is not only based on reaction to its content, it is also based on the worldview of the decoder (receiver), which is the topic of the second level of analysis: divergence of worldviews and identities in the process of encoding and decoding the meaning of heritage. An exploration of identities could be approached in many ways due to the complexity of the construct and the numerous forms it could take. Even if the focus is on collective forms of identity, these could range from political to cultural to religious. Another source of discord in the construction of identity in Jordan could be found in the contradictions present between the official and popular historical narratives and the narratives highlighted by practice, which can be discussed in relation to the actual practice of conservation of heritage in Jordan and the seriousness of the efforts dedicated to the institutionalisation of its protection and representation.

5.2. Actors and institutions constructing a Jordanian heritage

In order to understand how multi-vocality and dissonance contribute to the construction of heritage in Jordan, and how they manifest in the contradiction that we observe in the space of al-Balad, I begin by exploring both the institutional and the popular discourses and

practices, defining the institutions that are responsible for the conservation and representation of heritage, and the narrative that is being attached to the past.

5.2.1. Conceptualisation of heritage in Jordan: actors and institutions

The term “heritage” or “turath” in the Arab language primarily denoted a relation to the religious teachings of Islamic legacy. In the post World War Two period the concept of Arab heritage gained a prominent position in political discourse as the new nations strived for legitimisation (Faris, 1986). In Jordan, the relationship with the past was mainly defined as “customs and traditions” as can be noted from school texts, and focused mostly on social practices and craftsmanship. The word “heritage/ turath” was introduced into discourse mainly in the period post 1980s, when interest in heritage revitalisation gained popularity due to the realisation of the potential it held for tourism.

Institutionalisation of heritage conservation in Jordan has a history dating back almost to the establishment of the nation-state in 1921. Heritage, in its various forms is addressed in education, championed by the Royal family and protected and represented by a number of institutions, whose responsibilities overlap and at times collide. Most importantly, heritage has been the passion of many Jordanian individuals, and witnessed the establishment of numerous civic organisations and initiatives for its protection and representation. Below, I explore the historical development of definition and institutionalisation of heritage in Jordan, as well as the actors, organizations and problems influencing the process.

5.2.1.1. Pre-Emirate period

The period of the Tanzimat in late Ottoman rule (1839-1876) was brought about as a reaction to the aggressive European policy of expansion and in an attempt to modernise the Empire to bring it up to the challenge of such foreign threats. One of such modernising policies incorporated an emergent interest in cultural heritage for the purpose of countering the European historical and archaeological interest in the Near East (Shaw, 2003). This was also reinforced by the modern concept of rooting national identity in the cultural heritage of the nation-state. Irene Maffi (2009) terms the Ottoman reactive interest in cultural heritage “defensive archaeology,” and notes that by the second half of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman state had already put in place a law of antiquities which forbade the export of Ottoman heritage and archaeological artefacts. This came amidst a culture where the reuse of archaeological ruins for building material or for storage was common practice (Abu-el-Haj, 2001). The Ottoman authorities however, seemed uninterested in the Arab provinces, which explains the circumstance in which Sultan Abdülhamid I gifted the ornate facade of the 8th century Umayyad Mshatta palace (located south of Amman) to the German Emperor on the occasion of his visit, and which is still exhibited at the Pergamon museum in Berlin.

5.2.1.2. Establishment of Department of Antiquities (DoA): beginning the official institutionalisation of heritage

The first official conflict over cultural heritage in what was to become the Emirate of Transjordan happened in 1923 in what Maffi terms the “Basilica affair;” a conflict occurred between Emir Abdullah and the British representative, Sir John Philby, when the former decided to construct a new mosque against the wall of a Byzantine Basilica to mark the

“new status of Amman and confirm the Hashemite political and religious role”, destroying the wall in the process. The conflict escalated out of proportion to the value of the destroyed ruins and necessitated the interference of Sir Herbert Samuel, the High Commissioner of Palestine at the time (Maffi, 2009). The resolution of this conflict led to the establishment of a unit attached to the Palestinian DoA in Jerusalem in 1923 that developed into an independent DoA in 1928 and was headed by British architect and archaeologist George Horsfield, who subsequently held the position of Chief Inspector of Antiquities of Transjordan (1928-1936) (DoA, 2006). This is a significant event taking into consideration that the establishment of this unit preceded the first Organic Law of Jordan passed in 1928 and it was one of the first official departments to be formed in the State.

The first Transjordanian “Law of Antiquities” was passed in 1934 and was amended several times, of which the last was in 1988. The definition of cultural heritage in this law is limited to that of antiquities, defined as:

- a. Any object, whether movable or immovable, which has been constructed, shaped, inscribed, erected, excavated, or otherwise produced or modified by humankind, earlier than the year A.D. 1750, including caves, sculpture, coins, pottery, manuscripts and all sorts of artefacts that indicate the rise and development of sciences, arts, manufacturing, religions and traditions relating to previous cultures, or any part added thereto, reconstructed or restored at a later date.
- b. Any object, movable or immovable, as defined in the previous subsection referring to a date subsequent to the year A.D. 1750, which the minister may declare to be antique by order of the Official Gazette.
- c. Human, plant and animal remains going back to a date earlier than A.D. 600. (DoA, 2007)

The main responsibilities of the Department consist of safeguarding “archaeological sites and monuments on and under the ground,” identifying archaeological sites and registering them into an inventory termed “Jordan Archaeological Data Information System” (JADIS), and presenting archaeological sites to the public after their excavation and restoration. DoA has been collaborating with numerous foreign centres concerned with archaeology, and having headquarters in Amman such as the American Centre of Oriental Research (ACOR), British Institute (Council for British Research in the Levant) (CBRL), German Protestant Institute (GPI), French Institute (Institut Français du Proche-Orient, IFPO), and the Spanish Archaeological Mission; in addition to collaborating with numerous European, United States’ and Australian universities and institutions (DoA, 2007). Interesting to note that trade in archaeological artefacts was legal until 1976.

5.2.1.3. The role of Ministry of Culture

The interest in culture and arts was officially institutionalised in 1966 by the establishment of the Department of Culture and Arts. This department, as well as DoA, was attached to the Ministry of Culture, Media, Tourism and Antiquities established earlier in 1964. Heritage, in the form of folklore, has always been one of the concerns of the Department of Culture, as the documentation of folkloric arts and culture has been one of its primary objectives. The Department participated in the establishment of the “Club for the

Revitalisation of Popular Heritage” in 1970, which in turn established the “Jordan Museum for Popular Traditions,” still operating in the vaults of the Roman Theatre in Amman today.

The Department of Culture eventually developed into an independent Ministry of Culture and Youth in 1976, and the concern with heritage was made explicit when it was renamed as Ministry of Culture and National¹ Heritage in 1988 (subsequently the mention of heritage was dropped and today it is simply known as Ministry of Culture). The Department also worked on documenting oral narrations of the past by the elderly, and had recently implemented several projects to document and promote popular heritage, such as documentation of folkloric tales in “My Grandfather’s Stories” Project; documentation of “popular Jordanian heritage vocabulary” in *Maknez al-Turath al-Arabi* Project (the Treasures of Arab Heritage Project); producing a collection of Jordanian folkloric music pieces and songs, released in the form of 6-part CD sets; in addition to rehabilitating one of the heritage houses in Amman to be dedicated as a Jordanian house – and known as *Beit al-Shi’er* (House of Poetry), to represent Jordanian cuisine, dress, handicrafts and culture (Samawi, 2009).

5.2.1.4. Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities (MoT): tourism as a driver for heritage conservation

Remnants of the past have also been the concern of the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities. This ministry started out in 1953 as a unit located in Jerusalem with the purpose of organising services provided to pilgrims visiting the city, in 1956 this purpose was expanded to include servicing the people crossing the Jordanian borders. The emphasis on tourism as an economic resource was made explicit when the department was included under the umbrella of the Ministry of National Economy in 1960. In the same year the first law concerning tourism was passed, which required the establishment of Tourism Authority Board that includes as members representatives from the Ministry of Economy, Department of Archaeology and the Department of Tourism – explicitly linking tourism and archaeology. The Department of Tourism was for the first time transformed into a ministry in 1964, in the shape of Ministry of Culture, Media, Tourism and Antiquities as explained above. Ministry of Tourism gained independent status in 1988, and DoA was put under its umbrella in 1989 to form together the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities.

The significance of the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities for the conservation of remnants of the past (in the forms of archaeology and more recently heritage) can be appreciated when we realise that tourism contributed the average of 7.5% to the GNP in the period 1999-2004, which is relatively high in comparison to other countries where this figure ranges between 2-6% (Government of Jordan, 2005). In 2005, the tourism sector² produced

¹ The scale of nationalism in this case was Arab rather than Jordanian, as the ministry was named *Wazaret el-Thaqafa wel-Turath el-Qawmi*, whereby the term *el-Qawmi* refers to Arab Nationalism as in *el-Qawmiyyah al-Arabiyyah* and not to Jordanian nationalism which is usually termed as *al-Wataniyyah al-Urduniyyah*.

² This can be compared to the apparel sector which produced 940 million JD and employed 138,000; mineral sector produced 400 million JD and employed 6,500; pharmaceutical sector produced 280 million JD and employed 5,500; and healthcare sector produced 390 million JD (no statistics available on the number of people employed) (Government of Jordan, 2005).

an output of 610 million JD and employed 44,000 people³. The tourism industry is considered one of the driving instruments in developing the Jordanian economy⁴ and receives numerous grants and loans⁵ from development agencies; for example, Jordan received a loan of 35 million USD in 2006 from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and International Finance Corporation (in collaboration with World Bank) for the purpose of “cultural heritage, tourism and urban development,” in addition to receiving other loans and grants from sources such as the European Investment Bank, the Government of Japan through Japan International Cooperation Agency and Kuwait Fund for Development (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development & International Finance Corporation, 2006). MoT proposed and implemented a National Tourism Strategy for the period 2004-2010 with view to increase tourism receipts to 1.3 billion JD in 2010, and increase employment in the sector to 51,000 jobs (MoT, 2006), to achieve the objectives of this strategy the Ministry implemented a major tourism development project – Jordan Tourism Development Project (Siyaha) in collaboration with United States Agency for International Development (USAID) in 2005, which included among several other projects, a major project for the revitalisation of historical centres of secondary cities in Jordan (MoT, 2005) (USAID, 2007).

In 2003 (formalised in 2005), the Government of Jordan passed a law for the protection of “architectural and urban heritage” putting MoT in charge of the process. This law defines a heritage site as:

“a site or a building that has been constructed after the year 1750 AD, and that is of heritage value in regard to its architectural type, its relevance to historical characters, or significant national or religious events... This includes the following:

Heritage building: architectural structures and elements that possess characteristics of architectural, historical or cultural nature that relate certain events.

Urban site: built fabric, public spaces, neighbourhoods and landscapes that represent the stable values on which the residents’ culture is based.”

The Law also called for the establishment of “the National Committee for the protection of architectural and urban heritage” consisting of members from DoA, MoT, Ministry of Municipal Affairs and GAM, and four professional experts in architectural heritage, in addition to members from other relevant governmental institutions. The Law also calls for the establishment of a “fund for the protection of architectural and urban heritage,” which was formalised by a regulation passed in 2008, and aims to provide financial resources for the preservation of heritage sites by means of acquisition of heritage buildings when possible and assisting heritage building owners to revitalise their buildings. In addition to the Fund, the Law calls for the establishment of a Register for Architectural and Urban

³ Statistics produced by the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities for the year 2005 place tourism receipts at 1,021 million JD, and size of direct employment in tourism at 29,384 persons (Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, 2005).

⁴ In addition to apparel, mining and pharmaceuticals (Government of Jordan, 2005).

⁵ Public grants and workers’ remittances amount to 20-25% of Jordanian GDP (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development & International Finance Corporation, 2006).

Heritage to which buildings and sites can be nominated but have to be approved by a ministerial committee.

5.2.1.5. Greater Amman Municipality: urban development as a driver for heritage conservation

In the case of Amman, and in addition to the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, the responsibility of reviving built heritage is primarily held by the Greater Amman Municipality (GAM). In 2003, GAM established a Heritage Unit within the Department of Studies and Design to work on implementing the newly passed law, identifying, documenting and preserving built heritage in Amman, as well as raising public awareness about its importance. The Unit also works on challenging and developing the definition of heritage proposed by the Law and the criteria for the selection of buildings and urban sites to be added to the Register. The structure of the new criteria is still a work in progress and attempts to address the symbolic value of built heritage as constructed by society, widen the understanding of the chronological scale of heritage and incorporate urban fabric surrounding heritage sites into preservation schemes (al-Rabadi, 2009). A proposal for the criteria developed by the “National Committee for Cultural Heritage” targets “buildings and physical locations” and defines them as:

- Built after 1750, with more than 30 years of age.
- Fulfilling one of the following values:
 - Historic Value;
 - Symbolic value (related to national, political, emotional, religious, cultural or social aspects whether on the national or international scale);
 - Urban/ Architectural Value (has architectural, technical or construction elements that are unique. This covers the massing, spaces, elevations, materials, landscaping, and construction methods and details; represent an architectural revolution or development; has a unique planning model, or complements to the surrounding urban tissue);
 - Socio-economic Value (related to direct or indirect economical benefit, has the potential of being re-used within an adaptive use that adds to the urban surrounding or enhances a cultural aspect related to the community) (GAM, 2008).

GAM has initiated several regeneration projects in the city, one of which is located in the heart of *al-Balad*. As part of GAM’s recent initiative to develop a new masterplan for Amman (launched in 2006), the revitalisation of heritage was emphasised as one of the foci for a vision for the future of the city. In 2008 two reports have addressed the issue of heritage: Amman Plan - Metropolitan Growth (MGP) Report (May 2008); and Amman Area Plan - Cultural heritage and antiquities (December 2008), which was based on Amman Plan and funded in part by a grant from the Agence Française de Développement (ADF). Both plans acknowledge the importance of memory and history in the city, and the significance of both the tangible and intangible aspects of heritage. Being urban growth plans however, both reports focus on the material immovable aspects of heritage. Amman Plan contributes significantly to designating al-Balad as a place of heritage by defining it as a “core cultural heritage centre” due to being “an urban centre based on a Greco-Roman city plan, with an acropolis (the citadel), temples, and a lower city.”

5.2.1.6. The role of Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Ministry of Awqaf and Islamic Affairs

Two other Ministries concerned with the protection of heritage are the Ministry of Municipal Affairs and the Ministry of Awqaf and Islamic Affairs. A department for the protection of heritage was established at the Ministry of Municipal Affairs by Abdul-Razzaq Tbeishat when he was appointed as a minister in 1991. Tbeishat has previously held the position of the Mayor of Irbid (one of the largest cities in Jordan) for 12 years and established a heritage museum in the city. In an interview with Tbeishat, he explained the reason behind his interest in heritage:

“I was very excited about the issue. I was enthusiastic about making our children learn what our heritage is, because it deepens their link with their homeland and [national] identity.” (Tbeishat, 2009)

However, after Tbeishat’s last period as a minister in 2003, the Ministry “neglected the issue to a big extent” (Tbeishat, 2009), today the department for the protection of heritage is not listed within the Ministry’s structure (MoMA, 2010).

The story of the Department of Tourism and Islamic Antiquities at the Ministry of Awqaf and Islamic Affairs is quite the opposite. In a telephone-interview with the Director of the Department in 2009, I was informed that although the Department was established 15 years ago it was merely “ink on paper,” it was “frozen” and its responsibilities were not agreed upon. The Ministry however was responsible for the preservation of Islamic sites and monuments such as historical mosques, and the tombs of important figures in Islam, and the Director stressed the significance of Islamic heritage to support national identity and support the historical narrative of the nation. The state of the Islamic monuments however, as described by Erin Addison in 2004, was neglected in comparison to Christian or natural sites. Addison analyses the state of signage and roads servicing the sites and observes that they are often in a dilapidating state and that the signage is obscured from the roads (Addison, 2004). Upon consulting the website of the Ministry again this year, the Department is presented as new and active. The web-page lists the various responsibilities of the Department and its achievements, which include erecting new signage for various Islamic monuments (Ministry of Awqaf and Islamic Affairs, 2010). It is important to note though, that the emphasis of preservation conducted by this department falls on material monuments and the term used is that of “antiquities” analogous with archaeology, and that the proposed manner of consumption of the sites is through tourism. The term “heritage” is not mentioned at all on the web page.

5.2.1.7. The role of individuals and civil society

The concern with remnants of the past in their miscellaneous shapes, especially folklore songs, clothing and embroidery remained for a long while an effort on the level of individuals. In the decades following the establishment of the Emirate several members of the elite, male and female, took an interest in documenting and supporting the practice of folklore products and crafts. For example Wasfi al-Tal (1919-1971), who held the position of the prime-minister of Jordan on several occasions, and is famous for his nationalism and loyalty for Jordan, worked at the beginning of his career at Jordan Radio established in 1956, and launched a project to document folkloric songs from across Jordan (Masarwa,

2009). His wife, Sa'diyeh Jabiri, the daughter of a famous political Syrian persona, in addition to other ladies, such as Widad Kwar (of Palestinian descent) and Sita al-Hadid (daughter of a Sheikh of al-Huneiti tribe of Bal'qa – the region that includes Amman) took a great interest in promoting folkloric handicraft skills such as weaving, sewing and embroidery in Jordan and Palestine for both the purposes of documenting these crafts and using them to improve the livelihoods of families in impoverished areas (according to interviews with (Kwar, 2009) & (Hadid, 2009). Folkloric songs, clothing and lifestyle, especially the Bedouin, became the symbols of Jordan, and have been commercialised for purposes such as promoting tourism and representing the Jordanian character in the official airline of Jordan – Royal Jordanian, whereby the air hostesses for the business class are clothed in folkloric Jordanian dresses (Layne, 1989).

The first attempts of heritage conservation and documentation might have been driven by pursuit of a national identity and the fear of loss of tradition due to modernisation, however the underlying sentiment that powered these efforts was, and still is, a sense of pride of own history and ancestors. Ownership and fostering of this sense of pride is fundamental for a successful and sustainable construction and conservation of heritage. Individuals concerned with heritage are the driving force of the civic movement to conserve it; examples range from personal efforts such as the case with Mamdouh Bisharat, an influential Jordanian landowner, farmer and patron of arts and culture; to organisational efforts, such as the case with Shoman family and the establishment of Darat al-Funun. Personal interest in heritage also translated into an official institutional interest when such individuals gained power, so for example when Wasfi al-Tal or Abdul-Razzaq Tbeishat became ministers, they put much effort into legislating heritage conservation and incorporating it into policy and projects. Professionals interested in heritage are also a driver for its conservation and definition, either through design and research or through participating in the academia. This interest is also reflected in the NGO sector which witnessed the establishment of numerous organisations concerned with heritage, there are 24 associations registered with Ministry of Culture with the term “heritage *turath*” explicitly stated in the title (out of about 283); and more recently in the social media, where heritage and al-Balad inspired much discussion.

Interest in the revitalisation of heritage driven by a sense pride and the desire to affirm one's identity is a stronger and more durable motive for conservation than the case with economic interest and commercialism, as it can be observed that heritage tourist attractions, souvenir outlets and heritage cafés that spread over the Kingdom in the last few years are often problematic in terms of content and economic viability. Even internationally funded projects for economic development through tourism are being challenged by local communities who fail to see the benefit of such projects on their lives (Figure 5-1).



Figure 5-1: A child holding a poster in a recent demonstration demanding government reforms in Madaba saying “No tourism and No Investment. The Government is gambling.” (al-Qaisi, 2011) Madaba has been the target of much urban and tourism development projects in the last decade due to its importance for Christian history. Recently the people of Madaba started expressing their frustration with the projects which lead to drastic changes in their urban environment with little benefit for local communities.

5.2.2. Problems of institutionalisation of heritage in Jordan

Despite the abundance and the lengthy history of institutions concerned with the conservation and representation of heritage in Jordan, the conservation process leaves much to be desired. Hao’bbsh (2000) identifies a number of problems related to the conservation process, such as:

- absence of a clear definition of architectural heritage in Jordan;
- insufficiency of funds on both the public and private levels for the purpose of conservation, and the use of these funds for the production of studies that are not eventually implemented;
- dependence on the appropriation of heritage properties by the government instead of promoting social involvement in conservation;
- lack of awareness regarding the significance of heritage as an evidence on the historical development of Jordanian culture, and the significance of heritage as an economic resource;
- multiplicity of authorities responsible for conserving heritage and the lack of agreement in decisions and resource allocation;
- lack of implementation of laws and legislation regarding the protection of heritage, and lack of abidance with the treaties and conventions regarding the protection of heritage that Jordan has entered.

Problems of definition of heritage, of institutional mismanagement of conservation and lapses in implementing protective legislation all contribute to increasing the extent of contradiction between the significance of heritage in discourse and its apparent insignificance in practice. The relationships among the actors are not straightforward, and it is apparent that the institutionalisation of heritage is primarily driven by personal interests and international initiatives. Nevertheless, the construction and conservation of heritage in Jordan is relatively recent in its current form and will require time to become institutionalised in a more concise and serious manner.

Having discussed the main actors who contribute to the construction and conservation of heritage, I re-direct the discussion to explore how the whole of society of Amman relates to this construct. This exploration approaches the subject via the analysis of the multiple hybrid identities that comprise the social groups of Amman.

5.3. The multiple identities of Ammanis

In order to expand the understanding of how heritage is constructed in Jordan from the most visible actors to the whole society, this research implements a cross-sectional positivist approach using the intrinsic link between heritage and identity as established in literature. It is obvious that there are numerous hybrid and dissonant identity groups co-existing in Amman, and the first step in this analysis is to define a framework for differentiating these identities. I need to emphasise at this point, that dissonance *per se*, should not be associated with an intrinsic value. Dissonance in society is not a negative phenomenon; on the contrary, it is indicative of cultural richness, and of the liveliness of social groups. However, dissonance also indicates difference; it can lead to conflict, and provides opportunities for manipulation of the weaker groups by the strong. Nevertheless, it is perhaps the lack of dissonance that can be deemed problematic, as it indicates that a single voice is practicing dominance to the exclusion of others.

Constructing a definition of multi-vocality in Jordan, within the theoretical context of research necessitates the definition of voices, or identities, that contribute to it on multiple levels. Identity is a multi-dimensional, socio-cultural construct that is based on both similarity and difference, spans the individual to the collective, and has risen in significance with the advent of social change associated with modernity. In this case, the concern is with the collective categories of identity⁶, however, categorising identities is never clear-cut as identities are always hybrid and overlapping. It is also difficult to introduce binaries into the categorisation, as for example the binary of tradition-modern is simplistic because non-traditional does not always equate to modern, or pre-modern does not always equate to traditional. Categorisation also depends on its purpose and can take forms such as political, whereby groups are categorised according to their nationalist or party affiliations; anthropological, whereby categorisation is performed according to type of settlement, such as urban, rural or nomadic, or according to ethnicity; it could also be according to economical status, gender, or age group. Categorisation coincides with the focus of the narrative that any group chooses to identify with, as Giddens (1991) observed that identity is found in “the capacity to keep a particular narrative going.”

Here, the focus of the narrative of identity can be represented by a number of overlapping concepts; addressing the voices of a society in search multi-vocality, entails observation of political voices, of people’s identification with national and group sentiments as represented in the political sphere. I previously discussed the importance of modernity and the centrality of the concept of interruption for the construction of heritage; hence, this should also be reflected on the definition of identities. Another factor that is significant to our definition of identities is the factor of urban space, and specifically the urban space of al-Balad. This can be addressed on two levels, keeping in consideration that Amman was not settled until late nineteenth century, and that the majority of Ammani residents are

⁶ For a detailed definition of identity applied in this research refer to Annex 10.

descendants of migrants to what developed to be their home. The first level addresses the original mode of settlement of identity groups that can be divided into nomadic, rural and urban; and leads to questions such as: how can a group of nomadic origin relate to material or built heritage? What were the cultural dynamics between the nomadic and settled groups before the establishment of the nation-state? Was the nomadic group culturally subjugated? The other level of addressing identity involves the sense of belonging to place; if most of the people of Amman originate from elsewhere, how do they construct a heritage narrative tying them to Amman? How do they reconcile their belonging to other places with their belonging to the city?

Representation of levels of identities in literature is not equal; the political categorisation of society is much more prevalent than other types of categorisations. However, due to the overlapping nature of these levels, the characteristics of categories emerge even in the analysis of political identities. To produce a useful categorisation of identities, I explore dominant identities and their characteristics in the Middle East, then focus on Jordan and explore the dynamics of identities and the multiple categorisations that can apply to society as per the levels discussed above. For this analysis I draw on literature, interviews and most importantly on analysis of survey findings.

5.3.1. Approaches to categorising identities in the Middle East

The study of societies in the Middle East gained much attention in the last few decades. Fukayama's (1992) view that history is coming to an end – a condition in which the values of liberal democracy spread through the world and become the norm was countered by views such as that of Samuel Huntington (1993), which among other things emphasised the distinction between the Western and other civilisations, asserting that “the very notion that there could be a ‘universal civilisation’ is a Western idea” and that the progressive values of the West “often have little resonance in Islamic... culture.” The Muslim world became the focus of even more urgent discourse in the wake of the attacks of 9/11 and the War on Terror which picked up from already existing studies of fundamental and militant Islam (for example in the work of Jansen (1978), Gellner (1992) among many others).

Understanding the cultural spheres and the resulting identities in the Muslim Middle East has been the subject of several studies, and the approaches used to structure this understanding reflect to a big extent the worldview of the researcher, or the “categoriser,” which changes with the change of global dominant ideologies, the ideological mindset of the researcher, and the case studies in question. However, the main common thread that guides categorisation is the effect of modernisation on the worldview paradigms in these “traditional” Muslim societies. An example of categorisation can be found in the work of Faris (1986), who attempts to create categories that reflect a relationship with Islamic heritage and a reaction to Western ideologies. He categorises Muslim identities with emphasis on three groups: 1) traditionalists, who reject the build-up of religious heritage accepting only the original sources of Islam; 2) liberals (nationalists and socialists), who have a western vision of society and attempt to incorporate all heritage - Islamic and pre-Islamic in their identity; and 3) leftists or Arab Marxists, who eclectically re-appropriate the Islamic heritage so as to reveal its revolutionary aspect. Although this categorisation might

have applied to the Muslim World at large in the 1980s, it seems to be a reaction to both the West and the Soviet powers, provoked by the modernising process.

A more recent approach to categorisation is offered by Saeed (2007) who provides eight overlapping categories, based on broad orientations “towards law, theological purity, violence, politics, separation of religion and state, practice, modernity and *ijtihad* [independent judgement in religious matters].” These categories consist of legalist traditionalists (synonymous to traditionalists in Faris’s model); theological puritans (who emphasise a literal reading of the key sources of Islam and are more open to *ijtihad*); militant extremists (who are driven by a strong sense of injustice against Muslims); political Islamists (who choose “an Islamic socio-political pathway to change”); secular liberals (who call for piety on a personal level and do not see the need for an Islamic state); cultural nominalists (who emphasise the cultural aspect of Islam rather than the religious and do not actively participate in Islamic rituals, this category represents “a very large number of Muslims today”); classical modernists (who emphasise the need for Islamic reform and *ijtihad*); progressive ijtihadis (who can be considered the “intellectual descendants of classical modernists, and argue for ‘major changes in the methodology of the Islamic law and for reform of Islamic law itself”).

However, in the context of Jordan, the most relevant approach to categorisation is proposed by Hoogvelt (1997), who summarises four main Muslim identity categories as: modernisers, reformers, neofundamentalists and traditionalists. Roy (1995) examines the role of Westernised education as a tool in creating these new identities on one hand, and creating cleavages between them on the other. He argues that in a context of colonialism, the rulers attempted to provide as little education as possible, and the “wrong sort of education when it had to be given.” Thus the local educational system was either destroyed or allowed to collapse through benign neglect, while new schools using European languages and curricula were introduced. A new breed of intellectual elite was selected and nurtured to see the Orient through Occidental eyes.

However, the division of identification did not result from cultural associations alone; it was also highly affected by economical status and the degree of access it provides. For example, the social groups who had access to Western education and the opportunities to travel and study in the West, accumulated social and academic symbols that allowed them to actively participate in elite and Western institutions. They had access and opportunity to transform their Muslim identity to align with their new worldview, and to participate in the social, economical and political life. This resulted in the emergence of two broad identity categories: modernisers and reformers; modernisers sought to rationalise Islamic thought, while reformers sought to Islamise the Western model of society.

On the other hand, the educated social groups who did not have the means to accumulate status symbols and association with the West did not gain acceptance or credibility by the Westernised ruling elite or the West and were thus excluded from participation in socio-economic and political public life. Yet, due to their (state-funded) modernised education, which advocates active citizenship, they face the need to “fulfil their vision of themselves,” and thus this exclusion takes on a religious dimension. This group of intellectuals form the category of neofundamentalists, who “act and preach on fringes of the westernised

professionals, the governing class and the state-legitimated clerics, among the urban poor, in urban and suburban settings not socialised by the state” (Bromley, 1994). This category represents Low Islam (as opposed to the clerics of High Islam incorporated into the state), which is simple, adaptive, and centred on grassroots Brotherhoods (Gellner, 1992).

The traditionalists are mentioned not as a category but as a characteristic, little discussion is granted to groups existing outside or on the margins of modernisation. However, what Roy (1995) does emphasise in his discussion is the wane of traditionalism in the masses that follow the Islamists, he posits that:

“they live with the values of the modern city – consumerism and upward social mobility; they left behind the old forms of conviviality, respect for elders and for consensus, when they left their villages... they are fascinated by the values of consumerism imparted by the shop windows of the large metropolises; they live in a world of movie theatres, cafes, jeans, video and sports, but they live precariously from menial jobs or remain unemployed in immigrant ghettos, with the frustration inherent in an unattainable consumerist world.”

Having briefly discussed the approaches to categorising Muslim society offered by literature we need to remain aware of the limitations of the process of categorisation. Categorisation is reductive, and in the three examples above, it focuses on the differences among the categories in their relation to Islam and modernisation. The three examples do not focus on similarities that bind categories. The hybridity and overlap of the categories is obscured, and when the complexity of the categories is addressed, such as the case in the categorisation of Saeed, the framework of categorisation is not made explicit, leading to lack of clarity in terms of the criteria used for categorisation, and to duplicity. Also obscured from categorisation are the existence and the complexity of the cultural base that the categories emerge from. The impression presented by is that before modernisation and Westernisation of the Muslim world, societies were uniform and traditional, whereby “traditional” is not defined except in terms of being a condition to depart from. What is also missing from these categorisations is any quantification of the categories in their respective contexts beyond the descriptions of “majority” and “minority.”

However, these broad approaches to categorising Muslim identities in the Middle East offer a starting point to further a discussion on the relationship of identity and the conceptualisation of heritage. The next step is to focus on the specific identities that emerge in Jordan with regard to the shortcomings discussed above. The proposed identities must focus on similarity as well as difference, need to be historically grounded and reflect the complexity of identities before the process of modernisation with particular attention paid to the under-represented traditional identities, and finally quantify the presence of these identities and the strength of their characteristics.

5.3.2. Dominant collective identities in Jordan

Literature on the identity and society of Jordan employs several methods of cultural categorisation, each focusing on a different aspect of Jordanian history depending on the ideological standpoint of the writer. The goal here is to provide a definition of the main sources of identity in Jordan, and by extension – in Amman, to put to use in further examination of the concept of heritage.

I construct this definition by using the findings of the survey; the questionnaire posed an open ended question allowing for multiple levels of identification to emerge: how do you identify yourself? The result consisted of 67 different answers, which lent themselves to be consolidated into 6 broad categories: Muslim; nationalist in the three forms of Jordanian, Palestinian and Arab; identification with the family, and identification according to personal achievements which can take professional, academic or other characters. Among these categories, three most prominent identities were the Muslim, Jordanian and Arab: more than 53% of society of Amman identifies itself as Muslim, nationalist identification amounts to 39% of which the strongest is nationalist Jordanian at 23%, while the Arab follows at 12% (Figure 5-2).

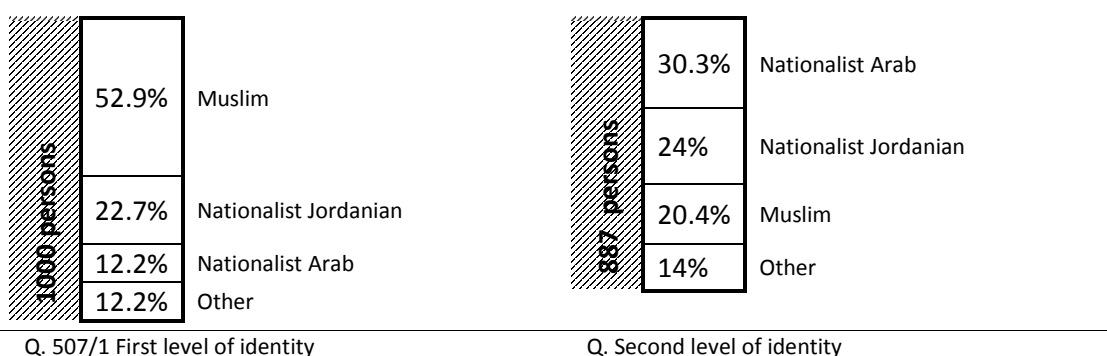


Figure 5-2: Percentages of the main and secondary perceived identification in the society of Amman. The size of the population is less than 1000 for the secondary identity due to non-response.

These dominant identities are represented in the political sphere of Jordan, as discussed below, however there is also a need to reveal identities which are not political in nature. This is achieved by examining the historical sequence of identity development in Jordan, beginning by discussing the traditional tribal identity prevalent before the advent of modernisation and the founding of Jordan, then the nationalist identity, the Muslim identity, and the Hashemite-Jordanian identity as institutionalised by the State.

5.3.2.1. Tribalism

Jordan is frequently characterised as “tribal” (Layne, 1989), a circumstance which can be considered a direct product of its environment and history. The territory around the river Jordan is split in two by the deep geological rift: East Bank, a term also attached to the territory of Jordan, and West Bank which serves to identify Palestine. The majority of the territory of Jordan ranges between dry steppe and desert, falling partially in the Syrian Badia and the desert of the Arab Peninsula, and only limited portion of its surface receives enough rainfall to sustain any greenery and agriculture (Figure 5-3). The arid nature of the terrain has historically sustained a lifestyle of subsistence on nomadic pastoralism, and nomadic Bedouin tribes dominated the region. The difficulty of establishing viable settlements and policing in such circumstances meant that the region existed on the frontier of ruling civilisations from the times of Biblical kingdoms and until the fall of the Ottoman Empire (Figure 5-4) (Khoury & Kostiner, 1990).

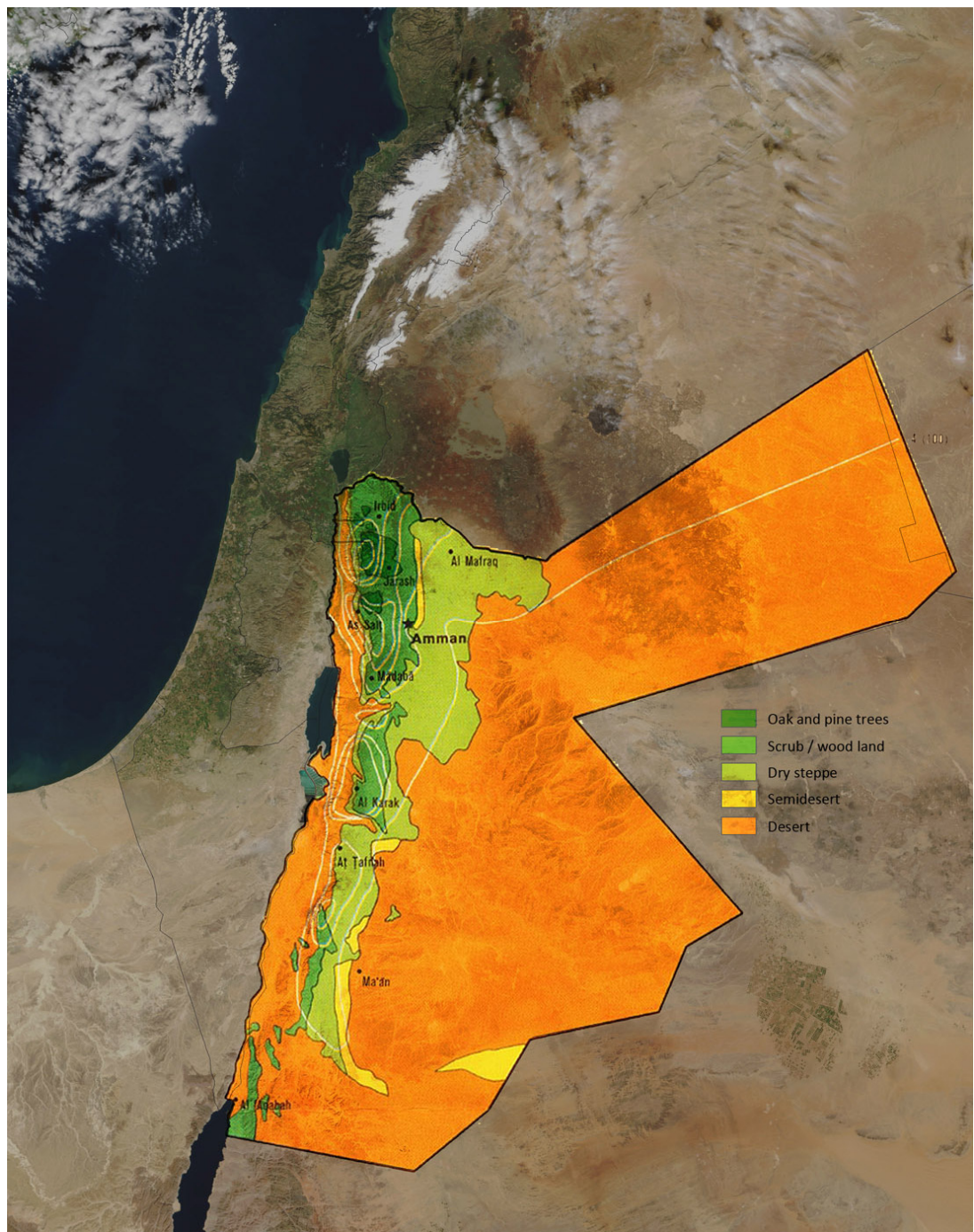


Figure 5-3: Map of Jordan showing the different environmental divisions according to rainfall.



Figure 5-4: A sequence of maps showing the extent of authority during the subsequent dominance of civilisation in the region of greater Syria. The top left map is a satellite image of the region showing the areas of the desert and the greened cultivable areas. The images from top right to bottom right show respectively the extents of the rule during Biblical kingdoms, the Roman Empire and the late Ottoman Empire, whereby the extent of dominance was limited by the desert frontier.

However, tribalism and Bedouinism (nomadism) are not equivalent concepts. Tribes as an ideal type can be defined as “large kin groups organised and regulated according to ties of blood or family lineage” (Tibi, 1990). This approach tends to create a romanticised understanding of the tribes which clashes with their transforming reality; this approach also places tribes in opposition to the ideal concept of the state which can be defined as “structures that exercise the ultimate monopoly of power in a given territory” (Tibi, 1990), since tribalism is viewed as “placing of family ties before all other political allegiances” (Layne, 1989); this approach proposes that in order for tribes to become incorporated into the state they must “radically alter their tribal ethos” (Khoury & Kostiner, 1990).

One of the main characteristics of tribes is solidarity (*‘asabiyyah*) which emerges on several levels. The solidarity of tribes revolves not around kinship per se, but rather “a myth of common ancestry,” often expressed by the tribal name as in (*banu, awlad*). In some cases the notion of solidarity expands to include political, social, ethnolinguistic and territorial bonds (Hourani, 1990). The structure and size of the tribe ranges from a camp to confederation or chiefdom, and spans across different ecological systems. Chiefdoms consist of relatively homogenous confederacies, where partnerships of power-sharing involve pastoral nomads on the margins of cultivation, semisedentarised (especially agriculturalist) tribesmen, and occasionally urban dwellers. This partnership is established on a social contract whereby nomads and semisedentarised tribesmen are expected to refrain from internal disruptions and to contribute military forces for protection and expansion. In return, town dwellers are expected to provide these rural forces with access to marketing and organised religion (Tapper, 1990). Solidarity also gave rise to a high sense of egalitarianism in tribal and especially nomadic societies, where the power status is conferred upon personal achievement and skill rather than hereditary privileges or material ability (Gubser, 1988). Solidarity and egalitarianism often mean that the tribe shares rights and responsibilities in certain circumstances; for example the whole tribe shares the brunt of punishment for crimes, which might even lead to their collective displacement – a framework that leads to a strong inter-tribal self-regulation, and high value of ideal moral values such as honour, generosity and volunteerism. In their broad shapes and forms, tribes possess a “typical mode of behaviour and a value system” what can be termed as “cultural substance” (Khoury & Kostiner, 1990) or a “state of mind” (Tapper, 1990). The tribal “cultural substance” is historically exclusively oral and is rooted in custom and tradition, a practical example of this contract is tribal law, which despite being abolished in Jordan in 1976, still persists informally in the present day (Layne, 1989); (Abu-Hassan, 1993).

In terms of religious attitude, tribal loyalty to kin is sometimes viewed as anti-Islamic. Tribes, especially tribes of nomadic pastoralists are considered less adherent than settled groups to Islam, which is like all monotheistic religions an urban phenomenon. Nomadic tribes still cling to pagan practices of their pre-Islamic culture, transforming them to accommodate Islamic theological principles (Boneh, 1987), also (Chelhod, 1965) and (Shryock, 1997). The states also exert much effort to bring the nomadic tribes under the rule of formal Islamic law and to abandon their tribal judicial concepts (Abu-Hassan, 1993); (Al-Aref, 2004).

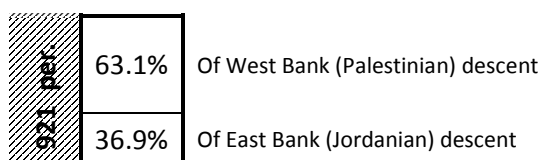
The relationship between tribes and the state also varied geographically and historically. In this context, the state should not be viewed as a single monolithic entity, separate from society, but rather as “any and all variations in power, authority, structure, and values that support the organisational framework of society” (Cohen, 1978). The strength of the state can also change over time in terms of its ability to govern, enforce laws, accommodate pluralism and political representation. In the Middle East, the extent of state dominance varies considerably, and state identities are diluted in comparison to those in Europe because they are based on both ascriptive inner-group loyalties and on categorical, national ones (Migdal, 1985)⁷. In the modern relationship of the state and the tribes, the latter is not to be viewed as the weaker partner; the values of tribal society affect states. Indeed, from the perspective of the state, modernisation and rapid social change are often counterproductive in that tribes are given a renewed role through their participation in the conflicts these changes inevitably produce (Esman & Rabinovich, 1988).

In the modern history of Jordan, Bedouin tribes hold a significant role. They supported Emir Abdullah in the Arab Revolt, and were subsequently incorporated in the Jordanian army starting with the 1930s, a procedure which had the effect of quelling the Bedouin disruptive raiding on neighbouring and settled tribes; and gave the Bedouins an interest in internal order turning them with time into loyal supporters of the Hashemite regime. Amir Abdullah, King Hussein and the current King Abdullah II all keep good relationships and pay great attention to the material needs welfare of the Bedouins. Sedentarisation and modernisation of the Bedouins became a priority, and disproportionately large shares of development reached the Bedouins in the shape of services such as irrigation and settlement schemes, and health care through the military services (Gubser, 1988).

Prior to the formation of the new nation, nomadic Bedouins formed nearly half of the population; in late 1980s, they formed 5%, and have been actively and continuously sedentarised. However, nomadic culture and values cannot be erased by change of settlement style; a cultural change requires much time, as Shils proposed earlier, it takes about three generations for a new tradition to become established. Furthermore, tribal identity is not confined to Bedouins, it extends to settled groups occupying the East Bank and parts of the West Bank which did not fall under the direct dominance of the Ottoman state. The survey shows that 37% of the people of Amman originate from the East Bank (versus 63% who originate from the West Bank (Figure 5-5)), and this figure can serve as an indicator towards the size of Ammani population that have a background of tribal culture and values. Influence of tribal groups is felt in Jordan for two main reasons: idealisation of their customs and traditions and their role in the military and state politics (Gubser, 1988). Bedouin tribes became a symbol of Jordanian national identity, their ethos considered a noble moral code to be followed, and items of their material culture have been appropriated to signify hospitality and honour in civic and commercial domains. Political events in the Middle East also led to the solidification of this position, especially in response to the Israeli claim that Jordan, with its Palestinian majority was de facto a Palestinian state, and that Jordan was Palestine. The Jordanian government took dramatic steps in 1988 to curtail this conceptualisation of Jordan by severing its administrative links with Palestine and asserting that “Jordan is not Palestine.” Criticism of the privileged role of tribes in

⁷ Quoted in (Khoury & Kostiner, 1990).

Jordanian internal politics, referred to by King Hussein, has grown over the years. Jordanian intelligentsia view tribalism (*'asha'iriyah*) as antithetical to loyalty to the state, and subsequently a threat to national security, and as an obstacle to modern bureaucratic administration (Layne, 1989). Nevertheless, the tribal influence on the state remains strong, as tribal representatives gain majority of seats in both parliamentary (for example (Al-Jazeera, 2010)) and municipal elections (JCSR, 2007).



Q. 211 What is the birthplace of your grandfathers?

Figure 5-5: Percentages of the place of origin for the survey population. The size of the population is less than 1000 due to the exclusion of respondents of other origins.

However, tribalism is not a purely political expression of identity. In its political form it is expressed as Jordanian nationalism, as discussed below. The importance of examining tribalism independently of its political milieu lies in revealing the persistence of tribal values in Jordanian culture, as well as revealing the transformative nature of tribal values. On a social level, this can be detected in the extent of family relations and the manner of selection of friends. For example, despite the shrinking family envelope within which the everyday life of an Ammani revolves (for 73% of the population everyday and weekly life revolves around the nuclear family, and within the direct extended family for 25%), the symbolic significance of belonging to the extended family is perceived as important to very important by 93% of the population (Figure 5-6).

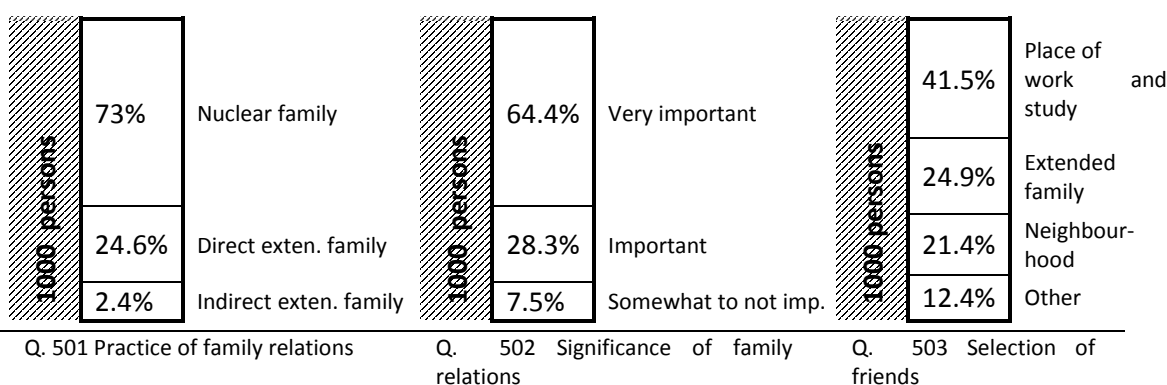


Figure 5-6: Percentages of three levels of family relations for the survey population. The first figure shows percentages for the scale of daily and weekly family relations; the second shows the percentages for the perception of significance of belonging to the extended family; and the third shows the spheres where the respondent selects friends and companions.

Extended family is also the second biggest source of selecting friends and companions at 25% after the place of work and study 42%. The transformative nature of tribal belonging can be also noted in the process of selection of friends by people of East Bank origin, whereby they rate higher than average in selecting friends who belong to the same geographical origin (same town or area), than to the same family.

5.3.2.2. Modernisation and nationalism: on being Arab, Jordanian and Palestinian

I have previously discussed the emergence and principles of modernisation and the propagation of the ethos of the age of Enlightenment. To summarise, modernisation can be defined as the transition of societies from traditionalism to modernity whereby the transition follows the ideology of rationalism, liberal democracy, secularism and individualism in line with the ethics developed by Western industrial societies. It was also discussed that the formation of nation-states and the rise of nationalism was a by-product of modernity, and that collective identities experienced a significant shift and loss of rooting and stability as a result. Collectives needed to re-invent their identities, and heritage was conceptualised as a tool to provide historical rooting and legitimation.

The spread of modernisation arrived to the Middle East and to Greater Syria during the Tanzimat era in Ottoman rule beginning in mid-nineteenth century (Rogan, 1999), in what Gelvin (2008) discussed under the term of “defensive developmentalism.” Although defensive developmentalism failed to achieve the desired objectives for the Ottoman Empire, it nevertheless institutionalised the seeds of modernity and spread the principles of modern state system in the region. At the turn of the 20th century, the Ottoman Empire crumbled, and the regions constituting its territory within Greater Syria fell under the colonial influence of Britain and France. This period witnessed the emergence of a secular collective identity in the former territories of the Ottoman Empire - pan-Arabism, which was firstly conceived in reaction to the oppressive *Turkification* of subordinate identities in the Ottoman realm (Watenpaugh, 2006), and eventually materialised by launching the Arab Revolt, led by members of the Hashemite family in Hejaz in 1919, with a view towards establishing a unified Arab Mashreq in the domain of the Fertile Crescent with the support of United Kingdom. This objective however did not materialise when Britain and France failed to come through with their promises and instead worked on dividing the region into the nation states of Iraq, Lebanon, Palestine, Syria, and Transjordan. Transjordan fell under the British mandate and Emir Abdullah of Hashem became its ruler. The strive for Arab unification failed to achieve the dreams of a untied Greater Syria, but resulted instead in the establishment of the League of Arab States in 1945, whose main objective is to “draw closer the relations between member States and co-ordinate collaboration between them, to safeguard their independence and sovereignty, and to consider in a general way the affairs and interests of the Arab countries” (League of Arab States, 1945). Pan-Arabism remained an idealist objective for numerous Arab countries, and risen in popularity in the 1960s, when the Egyptian president Jamal Abdel Nasser and the Ba’ath movement exerted serious interest in pan-Arabism and Arab unity. Several failed attempts at unification with Syria and Iraq took place in the decade, and eventually pan-Arabism lost much of its momentum after the Arab defeat in the war of 1967 with Israel (Khalidi, Anderson, Muslih, & Simon, 1991).

In addition to fostering a unifying Arab identity, the newly formed Arab nations faced the task of developing a unique national identity. This has been of particular relevance to the case of Jordan, especially in the context of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Although historically the people of Jordan and Palestine are deeply linked, there were a number of differences between the two: the Palestinians were more educated, more urbanised, with higher health standards and more access to the media (Gubser, 1988). In the aftermath of

the Israeli occupation of Palestine, Palestinians arrived to the East Bank in two major waves in 1948 and 1967. In 1948, upon establishment of Israel, Jordan annexed the West Bank, however Palestinians resented the domination of East Jordanians in political spheres. With time and the spread of modernisation and the development of education and healthcare, the differences between the two peoples decreased. But the two groups still identify separately. "Jordan is not Palestine; Palestinians do not claim Jordan as their country." The presence of Palestinians in the territory of Jordan and their attempts to establish a form of sovereignty led to a military conflict and a civil war in what came to be known as Black September in 1970 in which many casualties from both banks of Jordan were sustained and which led to the expulsion of Palestine Liberation Organisation from Jordanian soil. In late 1980s the question of Jordan being a substitute homeland for Palestinians was raised by Israel in their announcement that "Jordan is Palestine" as discussed above, which led to the separation of the two banks in 1988, whereby Palestine became an independent state. On the territory of Jordan however, Palestinians do not form a homogenous cultural entity. Gubser (1988) divides them into three⁸ categories based on the date of their arrival to Jordan and their living conditions: the first group consists of Palestinians who settled in Jordan before 1948, predominantly merchants and administrative officials. These groups prosper and "identify strongly as Jordanians" giving "considerable allegiance to the Hashemites." The second group consists of Palestinians who arrived following 1948 and 1967 and achieved a degree of material comfort. Gubser characterises them as "the least disgruntled, and perhaps a kind of silent majority." These Palestinians managed to prosper in Jordan's free-market economy and achieve high positions in government and the military. Although they long for the return of Palestine to Arab hands, they would not jeopardise losing their accumulated capital and security in Jordan. The third group consists of Palestinians who arrived post 1948 and 1967 and who live in refugee camps. Their dependence on the United Nations for subsistence, and policing by the Jordanian authorities makes them the most unsettled Palestinian category. Gubser observes that given the "lack of stake in the country, it is judged that many of this group would return to some part of Palestine given the opportunity." However, since 1988, this group attained another identity in place of the lost faith in the Arab and Palestinian belongings. That identity is the Islamist one as we discuss below.

To sum, as a result of the process of modernisation that accompanied Western colonialism and imperialism, Jordan fell under the influence of overlapping modern identities. The first identity was the Arab identity, which was promoted with hope of achieving some form of Arab unity following the ideals of the Arab Revolt and King Hussein of Hejaz. Survey findings show that 12% of the population identify themselves primarily as Arab, and that it is the main form of secondary identity for the respondents (at 30%). The second form of nationalist identity is the Jordanian, a concept that had to be constructed anew in the absence of a precedence of independent sovereignty in the territory of Jordan (Lerner, 1958). However, the construction of this new national identity was wrought with challenges as it had to be accomplished in the context of substantial flux of Palestinian refugees, who

⁸ Originally Gubser proposes five categories; however the duration passed since the writing of his article and the separation of Jordan and Palestine in 1988 renders two of the mentioned groups irrelevant.

had their own concepts of belonging and nationalism. For a long time Jordanian nationalism was associated with tribalism, which is reflected in the fact that only 23% of respondents perceive their identity as Jordanian. Identification with Palestinian nationalism has diminished as well, as only 4% of population identify themselves as primarily Palestinian.

The research also explores indicators of exposure to modernisation via proxies such as travel frequency and destination, education attainment and fluency of English. In terms of travel about half of the population have travelled to neighbouring Arab countries, while the other half have never travelled at all, only a minority of 5% have travelled to Europe and the USA. The frequency of travel is relatively high, with 20% travelling several times a year and 31% travelling less than once a year (rarely). Only a minority of 3% travel monthly to several times a month (Figure 5-7).

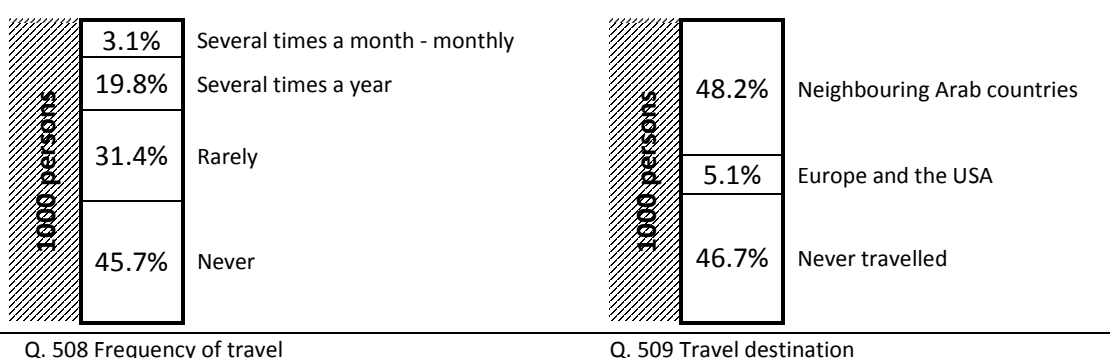


Figure 5-7: Percentages of travel destination and frequency for the population.

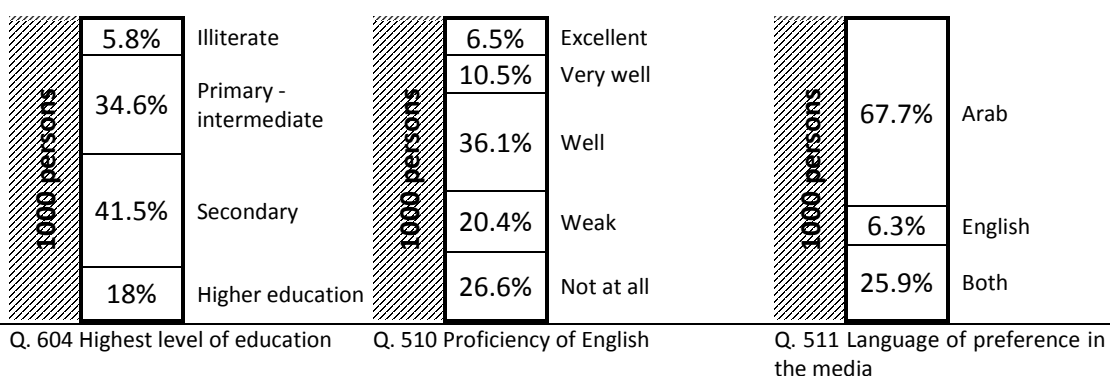


Figure 5-8: Percentages of education attainment, proficiency of English and the language of preference in the media.

In terms of education 42% of population have attained secondary school diploma, and 18% have a higher education. Illiteracy is 5.8%. Although English is considered a second language in Jordan about 47% either have a weak knowledge of it or not at all. More than half though, speak it well to excellently. Exposure to the West is also examined through the media via the proxy of language preference, it appears that the majority of population 68% prefers Arab media, while the rest range from both Arab and foreign to a minority who exclusively prefer media in the English language (Figure 5-8).

This summary of findings facilitates the construction of an image of a society in transition; it is relatively mobile and educated, however, the exposure that this mobility and education

allows for is rooted in Arab culture and the direct surrounding region. This can be evidenced by the destination of preference for travel, and also by the choice of language for the media – Arabic. The nationalistic sentiment that accompanies the modernisation process appears to be on the wane, as the ambitious historical nationalistic movements failed to deliver on their promises. In its absence another form of identification gains momentum: identification with Islamism.

5.3.2.3. *Islam and Islamism*

“Islam is more than a religion; it is a complete way of life;” it provides guidance for all facets of life ranging from national and international to the personal and intimate (Hoogvelt, 1997). The two principle sources for Islam are the *Quran* and the *Sunna*, which is a compilation of the Prophet’s sayings and actions. Around 900AD, the Muslim Sunni scholars reached a consensus regarding the compilation and interpretation of the body of scriptures, and from then on, the opportunity for *ijtihad* (independent judgement) was closed. This circumstance resulted in providing a power-base for religious scholars (*ulema*), and provided a source of legitimacy through the non-manipulability of the divine law to be employed by the disgruntled masses against political authority. Despite the institutional separation between politics and religion in Islam, there was never a cultural separation – Islam is not a secular civilisation (Gellner, 1992), (Hoogvelt, 1997). Islamism can be defined as political Islam, a movement aiming at reinstating religion as a source of political guidance and the political unity of Muslims (Roy, 1995). As Saeed (2007) shown in his classification of Muslim trends, Islamism does not necessarily mean militancy, and can range on the verge of religious apathy.

Islam has always been regarded as the cultural other, as an adversary of the West since the time of the Crusades. In confronting Islam, the West has come to define itself and define the Muslim world. With the rise of modernisation, it was predicted that it would eradicate Islamic civilisation (Eisenstadt, 2002), Lerner (1958) suggested that “Islam is absolutely defenceless” against the infusion of “a rationalist and positivist spirit.” Other scholars argued that Muslim societies are the exception to the pervasive trend of modernisation and its by-product of nationalism, Gellner (1994) observed that “civil society precludes the ‘ideological monopoly’ that Islam supposedly enjoins.”

However, another view towards the matter is to accept the inevitable complexity of the situation; as there is no one fixed modernity, so there is no one fixed Islamic culture. Muslims act not just in reference to religion, but also “according to class interests, out of a sense of nationalism, on behalf of tribal or family networks, and out of all the diverse motives that characterise human endeavour” (Eickelman, 2002). The idea of the possibility of multiple modernities and multiple cultural reactions goes against the classical sociological analyses of Marx, Durkheim and to some extent Weber, who posited that a “cultural program of modernity” which had its roots in Europe was expected to become universal (Eisenstadt, 2002).

However, there are many critics of the manner in which the Muslim world is reacting to the process of modernisation and the West. Tibi (2005) for example argues that although the Islamists reject the values of the West and modernisation they nevertheless welcome the methods applied to achieve it. Muslims readily accept scientific methods and technologies

devised by the West, but disregard the fact that the methods and technologies are the product of a society driven by rationalist liberal thought. In this sense Islamism is thoroughly modern; it employs strategies of the West to challenge it. Göle (2002) suggests that Islamist movements are radical in that they aim for a break with the past and for revolutionary change. However, Islamism does not propagate a progressive utopia as is the case of socialist revolutionary movements that envision an advanced stage of society that will be reached in the future, never having existed before; but carries a sense of mythical continuity with the past and claims an immutable and timeless concept of religion and puritan self. The Islamic golden age is not an imaginary utopia from the perspective of a Muslim; it exists in both time and space in the mythic model of the formative years of Islam (Göle, 2002).

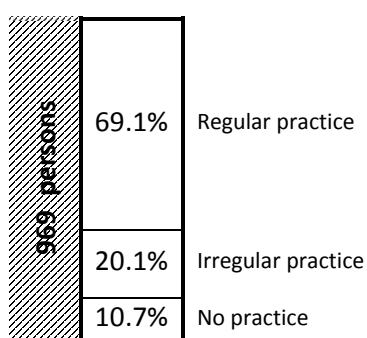
Another important issue in the discourse of Islamism is the condition of the public sphere and civic society. The significance of this issue for this research lies in the circumstance that it is the civic society acting in the public sphere that allows for the construction of an inclusive narrative of identity. In the context of Islamism, some scholars argue that a civic sphere is impossible, as Islam exerts an ideological monopoly on its followers thus precluding a possibility of multi-vocal discourse. However, the rise and the role of religious intellectuals in contributing to an emerging public sphere have been observed. Public education allowed intellectuals to improve communication with people while new technologies of communication and mobility allowed for an easier access to constituencies. This contributed to a “new sense of a public space that is discursive, performative, and participative, and not confined to formal institutions recognised by state authorities” (Eickelman, 2002). However, an expanding public sphere does not necessarily indicate more favourable prospects for democracy as it is also compatible with authoritarian regimes who may claim to speak for the “people.” Furthermore, the incorporation of the religious intellectuals via education and means of communication in today’s global society threatens to transform them into transnational elite, which subsequently leads to an increase in social polarisation and a risk of losing touch with the local majority (Eickelman, 2002).

The strength of religious sentiment and identification in Jordan has changed over time. Historically, religious allegiance was rarely the distinguishing aspect among rival groups in the region; difference was emphasised on the level of tribal or geographical belonging (Tapper, 1990). During the Arab Revolt the Hashemites used their genealogical link to the Prophet to legitimise their role in leadership, even though the Revolt was based on a modernised (and thus secular) sense of Arab nationalism and solidarity. Since the establishment of the State of Jordan, Sunni Muslims formed the majority of population (at approximately 95%). The Jordanian regime paid close attention to religious concerns and symbols, and always sought to cooperate with religious leaders, and so, even when political parties were banned for a long period, Muslim Brotherhood’s⁹ activities were permitted. Islamic rules, practices and rituals were a fixed part of the Jordanian everyday life. For numerous decades this strategy managed to contain religious political activism, and gain the loyalty of religious leaders to the regime (Gubser, 1988).

⁹ Established in Jordan in 1945, the Jordanian Muslim Brotherhood is ‘broad based and dedicated to pursuing an Islamic path through a variety of social, charitable, educational, and political activities.’ (Brown, 2006).

By mid-1980s Islamic fundamentalism has significantly gained influence in the Middle East. In Jordan, this movement seemed particularly attractive to all social strata, Palestinian and Jordanian, urban and rural, for reasons of rapid socio-economic change, political frustration at the lack of access to decision making, disappointment with the Arab solidarity following the failure to successfully address the Palestinian-Israeli problem, and the success of Ayatollah Khomeini as an example of what can be achieved in the name of Islam (Gubser, 1988). The culmination of religious political activism in Jordan was embodied in the dominance of the Islamic Action Front (IAF, the political arm of the Muslim Brotherhood) in the parliamentary elections when they were reinstated in 1984. Ever since, the IAF has existed in a paradoxical symbiosis with the Jordanian regime; although it has been reputed to be aligned with the government and had its democratic commitments questioned, it now represents “the only viable opposition party in the country” (Brown, 2006). The Hashemite regime has emphasised the symbolism behind their descent from the Prophet while distancing itself from Islamic fundamentalism by maintaining an active role in the discourse of moderate Islam.

Identification with Islam is the strongest form of identification in the society of Amman, as 53% of population identify themselves primarily as Muslims. However, Jordan is a nation of moderate Islamism, which was especially emphasised in 2004, when King Abdullah issued the “Amman Message,” a statement calling for tolerance and solidarity in the Muslim world (King Abdullah II, 2004). The survey attempts to examine the depth of Islamist sentiment in society by using religious practice as a proxy measured via regularity and collectivity of prayer. Hassan (2007) examines the prayer performance in several Muslim countries focusing on its regularity. The survey however, on the premise that the Muslim identity is socially constructed and is more a matter of collective symbolic identification than personal belief, explores both the regularity and collectivity of prayer. In regard to regularity of prayer it can be noted that the majority of population 69% perceives itself to practice prayer regularly, and only 11% do not practice prayer at all. This places Jordan in a position between Iran and Turkey, and can be viewed as much more moderate than its neighbour Egypt (Figures 5-9 & 5-10).



Q. 402 Regularity of prayer

Figure 5-9: Percentages of regularity of prayer for the survey population. The size of the population is less than 1000 due to the exclusion of Christian respondents.

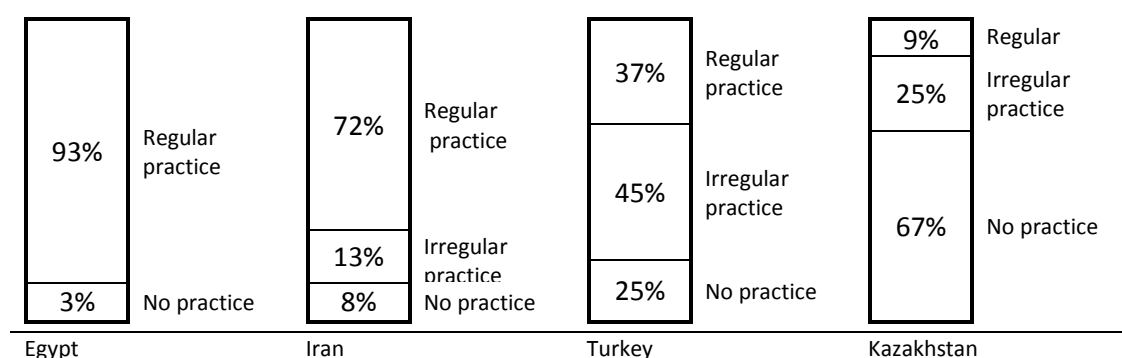


Figure 5-10: Percentages of regular, irregular and no practice of prayer as a proxy of religious commitment. Some categories were dropped or exaggerated to enhance legibility. The percentages do not always add up to 100% in (Hassan, 2007). “Regular” refers to prayer of one to more than five times a day. “Irregular” refers to occasional or weekly prayer.

Commitment to prayer in terms of regularity and collectivity does appear to be associated with stronger Islamic identification, as this group tends to pray more regularly and collectively than the average. However, the religious sphere does not seem to be a significant factor for the selection of friends and companions – the social bubble of a person outside his nuclear family and work. Even for people of Muslim identity, the place of work and study is the main source of friends and companions, and place of origin is not so important.

When observing the coincidence of the two primary levels of identity, it is interesting to note, that none of the respondents viewed themselves as purely Muslim; none of the respondents repeated this identity on the two levels inquired into by the questionnaire (unlike members of other identity groups, especially the Jordanian nationalist). The data also shows that significantly more people originating from the West bank identify themselves as Muslims (71%) than people originating from East Bank (29%). In view of the small percentage of identification with Palestinian identity, it can be argued that people of Palestinian descent appropriate Muslim identity over Jordanian in reaction to repressive identity dynamics in Jordan. This can be also confirmed by the observation that for identification with Jordanian nationalism the trend is reversed; considerably more people who identify themselves as Jordanians are of East Bank descent. However, this finding is not absolute, as 39% of the people who identify themselves as Jordanians originate from the West Bank, which could point to an emergence of a national sentiment in this group that is probably the result of identity transformation in generations, naturalisation of nationalism via education and other means and increased ability to manoeuvre state politics to their advantage.

5.3.2.4. Constructing the Hashemite historical narrative of Jordan

The Hashemite identity can be regarded as the strongest identity shaping the official Jordanian national narrative. However, this identity is exclusive. It is the identity of the ruling family, and is cultivated in society in terms of “loyalty to” and not in terms of “identification with.” The nature of the Jordanian Hashemite regime has been argued in length in literature whereby it is described as authoritarian, imposing restrictions on democracy, and aligned with the interests of and dependent on the West. On the other hand, it is also acknowledged as one of the most stable regimes in a volatile region, one

that seeks peace and moderate ideologies, and allows for the cultivation of populist belongings (Dann, 1989), (Robinson, 1998), (Fathi, 1994), (Massad, 2001), (Lynch, 2002), (Lucas, 2005). However, what I intend to establish in this discussion is the definition and symbols of Jordanian identity as promoted by the state in order to produce a fuller range of identification in Jordan.

Syllabi and textbooks has been a major source for the study of Jordanian institutionalised self-image (Winter, 1995) (Anderson, 2001) (Nasser, 2004) (Anderson, 2005) (Anderson, 2007). Although the identification of a nation can be derived from several media, such as literature, cinema and art, textbooks provide a more concrete and lucid reading of a deliberately crafted image of the people. This is valid in democratic states, and especially relevant to authoritarian regimes where textbooks promote a particular national narrative fostering specific political allegiances. This is also especially relevant in Jordan, where 62% of population claim that their knowledge of Jordanian history was attained at school. In the studies of textbooks employed for this discussion, the focus shifts among the spheres of identities already discussed above, namely the Arab, the Muslim and the Jordanian.

Winter (1995) analyses textbooks on history and social education dating to the pre-1967 period and notices a sentiment that was nationalist, anti-Western, anti-Israel and occasionally anti-Semitic and observes a striking absence of the promotion of a Jordanian national identity. The nationalism promoted in these books was the broader Arab nationalism, and Jordan was referred to as the “little Arab Homeland.”

These books also promote loyalty to the King. Anderson (2002) focuses on the Hashemite aspect of national narration and argues that it was the “Hashemite ‘mind’s eye’” that served as a filter for reconfiguring the relationships of multiple groups within the state. She observes that this Hashemite narrative consolidated the concept of modern nationalism and the traditional allegiances in the territory of the state, “but always within the framework of their own familial history,” presenting it as synonymous with the national history on both the Jordanian and Arab levels. Although they recognised historical figures that contributed to the Arab narrative, “the only actors the Hashemite kings recognise are themselves” (Anderson, 2001). Despite a discourse of a historical bond with the Jordanian tribes promoted by King Hussein, the role of the urbanised elite in the establishment of the new nation is dropped from history (Fakher, 2009). The Hashemites conceptualise themselves in an “impossibly romantic” manner as the saviour leaders, who brought together “the people now living within the boundaries of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan,” (Anderson, 2001) thus marginalising the role of existing local leadership in the process. On the other hand, the official narrative forges links with old civilisations that inhabited Jordan, with strong reference to the Nabatean civilisation that produced Petra, and to their tribal nature and Arab origins. Petra is often used to represent Jordan and is promoted as one of the wonders of the world.

Anderson (2007) also examines the promotion of the Muslim identity in Jordanian Islamic textbooks and concludes that they offer “too great a disjunction between image and reality.” On the one hand the state strives for normalisation with Israel, whereas the textbooks promote hatred towards the Jews; the state supports US economic and political policies, whereas the textbooks attack Western cultural intrusions and values; the state

conducts “sweeping arrests on Islamists in the US war on terror,” whereas the textbooks applaud basic Islamic beliefs. This duality of action and narrative can be understood in the light of the state’s strategy of co-opting and repressing the main political voices in Jordan. In this case the voice is of the Islamic movement, which was unofficially put in charge of education in the 1950s to counter the nationalist and socialist movements that were on the rise and threatening the stability of the regime. Another aspect of this process is the obscurity of the existence of pre-Islamic Arab civilisation via the omission of their history and *Jahily* (pre-Islamic) poetry from the curriculum (interview with Masarwa, 2009). Although the state allowed the Islamisation of its education, the objectives of the Islamic movement were not reflected on foreign and security policies, which remain beyond public democratic contestation (Brown, 2006).

Jordanian textbooks also emphasised the importance of Palestine and the Palestinian question, calling for a unified Arab effort in order to resolve and liberate the occupied land (Winter, 1995). However, as Nasser (2004) argues, Palestinian presence in Jordan is obscured; Palestinian people in Jordan are transformed into Jordanians, thus “Palestinians in Jordan are excluded by enforced assimilation.” The official narrative of the national history as presented in Jordanian textbooks is a selective Jordanian version of the Arab history. It exclusively emphasises the role of the Hashemites as leaders of the Arab Revolt, carriers of the flag of Islam and the instigators of founding the nation, while obscuring other existing and historical identities such as the Palestinian, the existing local elite, and the pre-Islamic Arab identity. The historical narrative in the textbooks also testifies to the regime’s cooperation with the major political voices in Jordan – the Islamic movement, even if leading to a dissonance in narration. This dissonant and consensual narrative however is not exclusive to textbooks in Jordan, and has been adopted as the official history to be displayed in museums (such as the new Jordan Museum) and for purposes of tourism.

5.3.3. Multiple hybrid identities and the link to heritage

Above, I approach the issue of dominant identities in Jordan with the aim to link it to the conception of heritage. Of particular relevance in this context is the definition of identity proposed by Anthony Giddens as: “*the capacity to keep a particular narrative going*,” as the purpose of exploring the identities prevalent in Jordan, and particularly in Amman is to understand which narratives are “*kept going*,” by whom, and why.

Literature on identity in the Middle East presents a framework for its categorisation based on the confrontation between Islam and modernity caused by processes of colonialism, imperialism and the opening up of cultures due to globalisation. On hand there are those who accept modernity as a new way of life and attempt to incorporate it in their worldview; on the other we have those who reject modernity as the antithesis of Islam. However, there are as many reactions to modernity as there are modernities, and so the forms of identity are numerous.

From literature on Jordan, and in line with the framework proposed by Hoogvelt (1997) emerges a number of dominant identities: tribal, nationalist Arab, Jordanian and Palestinian, and the Islamic. The tribal identity is the main traditional identity in Jordan. It encompasses nomadic and settled ways of life and is based on the allegiance to a mythical genealogy. Although the tribes has long been sedentarised and incorporated in modern life,

their values and perceptions affect the Jordanian identity profoundly. Nationalism, a product of modernity, has changed in scale and reference in the modern history of the Middle East and Jordan. Arab nationalism was the driving force behind the formation of the state, and prospered as an ideology in the middle of the 20th century. The defeat suffered in the Arab-Israeli war of 1967 led to the disappointment of the Arab people with their leaders and the subsequent wane of pan-Arabism. The Jordanian and Palestinian nationalist identities are quite problematic in Jordan. As it is a nation where a big portion of population consists of Palestinian refugees and people of Palestinian descent on one hand, and a history of foundation based on Arab nationalism on the other, the State did not actively cultivate a unique Jordanian identity, focusing instead on its Arab roots and commitment to the Palestinian cause. However, with the rising threat to the sovereignty of Jordan due to the Israeli proposal that "Jordan is Palestine," the State altered its approach by attempting to solidify a sense of Jordanian-ness. However, and as evidenced in an analysis of educational textbooks, the narrative that the State was pursuing all along was predominantly Hashemite. The Hashemites presented themselves as heroic figures who committed numerous sacrifices to establish the Kingdom of Jordan. This narrative was on the expense of the modern history of Jordan before 1921, which was truncated from public history, in order to allow the Hashemites exclusivity to heroism.

"Keeping a narrative going" on the official level in the constitutional monarchy of Hashemite Jordan is a delicate business that requires elaborate diplomacy and compromise from all parties involved. However, what I pursue in this research is a more popular understanding of identity; I explore how these identities manifest in society. The findings of the survey construct an image of people of Amman as a society in flux, with old identities making space for new ones, and constant transformation taking place. The three major identities that were found on the popular level are the Muslim, the Jordanian and the Arab, with the Muslim outweighing the others by far. However, moderate commitment to religion underlies all identities accompanied by a perception of a traditional, family oriented self. In practice however, matters differ as the workplace and the nuclear family replace the realms of socialisation within the extended family associated with a tribal community. The society of Amman is educated, but oriented heavily towards the Arab world in terms of travel and the media. The meaning of being Jordanian appears to have changed over the years, departing from association of Jordanian-ness with tribalism and East Bank descent, many people of Palestinian origin have taken on a Jordanian identity, transforming its meaning in the process to a more inclusive and fluid construct. Nevertheless, some prejudice of people of East Bank origins towards the Jordanian identity can be observed. The meaning to be Palestinian have changed too; people of Palestinian descent in Jordan have acquired nationality, yet remain unsettled as the fight for Palestine goes on. Many people of Palestinian descent identify themselves as Muslim or Arab to avoid the conflict of identity naturalisation.

Next, I further explore the links and contradictions emerging between the "narratives" of identity and the "narratives" of heritage. It is also important to keep in mind the particularities of the cultural experience of each category, as some come from nomadic background, while other from settled rural or urban areas. While the sequence of

generations living in a city has changed and aligned the culture of the people of Amman to an urban experience, the historical background of values persists.

5.4. Contradictions in the construction of the past in Jordan: between narrative and practice

As discussed above, the first major conflict involving heritage in the modern history of Jordan happened in 1923 in the form of the “Basilica affair.” This incident can be regarded as a conflict of interpretation, whereby each party insisted on the righteousness of their interpretation. Maffi analyses the incident and points out the colonial implications behind the conflict. She borrows Trigger’s (1984) concept of “colonial archaeology,” “which was nothing else than a practice oriented towards imposing the physical and symbolic presence of the colonisers on the colonised population” (Maffi, 2009), and points out that although Philby justified the conflict by his concern for the preservation of cultural heritage, this concern was aimed at “creating a cultural heritage imposed from above and from abroad” and the local population had the obligation to “accept the interpretation of the indigenous past given by the colonisers” (after (Anderson, 1991)).

The Emir on the other hand, justified his actions based on religious reasoning. He wrote to Sir Herbert Samuel: “I cannot accept any interference as regards religious buildings that belong to any of the communities under my control. I therefore protest against this interference which is undesirable to me as well as to all Muslims” (Abu-Nuwwar, 1989). Religious justification of interference with cultural heritage was utilised again in 1950 when Jordan insisted on the restoration of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, to the vehement protestation of representatives of the French government who considered themselves as protectors of the Catholic population. The Jordanian position was unrelenting as they affirmed that the “policy of the Jordanian government aims not to permit any intervention on the part of foreign governments in Jordan’s religious affairs” (Katz, 2001)¹⁰.

However, religious reasoning was not only used by the Hashemite regime to confirm their authority and their role as professed leaders of the Arab Muslim world, it was also the reason of interest of the Christian European countries in the Fertile Crescent in search of the origin of the Judeo-Christian civilisation. The second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth formed the golden age of so called “biblical archaeology,” which in turn affected archaeological practice and thought during this period. This was reflected on the nature of institutions that initiated archaeological research in Jordan and Palestine, such as Biblical Pontifical Institute and the *Stadium Biblicum Franciscanum* among others. Maffi further observes that the first systematic exploration with the objective to “identify the material traces of the Biblical story” was conducted in the second half of the nineteenth century by the Palestine Exploration Fund, founded in London in 1865. Nevertheless, the use of the Bible as a reliable historical resource was not supported by all foreign archaeologists. In this venue, Dever (1985) and Glock (1994) distinguish between biblical archaeology and Near Eastern, Syro-Palestinian archaeology which was considered secular and was mainly concerned with periods of great civilisations such as the Bronze Age, however, it can be argue that this interest that also encompassed the

¹⁰ Cited in (Maffi, 2009).

Babylonian and the Assyrian civilisations was also based on the idea that these civilisations were the ancestors of Euro-American people and were thus an extension of “their” heritage, they were part of the Western past. These two focuses privileges certain periods over others, to the neglect of other epochs such as the pre-historic and the Islamic. Very few excavations were directed at Islamic heritage, and it was not until the 1970s, that the American and Spanish missions, paid systematic attention to the study of early Islamic period (Stager, Greene, & Coogan, 2000). Year 1970 also coincided with the establishment of the first national school of archaeology in Jordan, and the decades of the 1970s and the 1980s witnessed an unprecedented interest in the prehistoric period, placing Jordan as “a principal focus of prehistoric investigation in the Levant” (Rollefson, 1997). Despite the establishment of DoA in the 1920s and the national school of archaeology in 1970, the participation of Jordanians in archaeological research was very limited. Of the many employees working there only few had scientific tasks and even less had a relevant degree (Glock A. , 1994).

The threat of the presence of Israel has always necessitated that Jordan should produce a nationalising narrative to counter the nationalistic narrative fabricated by Israel. Despite the progressive movement towards the creation of local archaeologies in the Arab countries, the Israeli threat exuberated the need to create a unique Jordanian nationalising narrative rooted in history, especially after the defeat in the Arab-Israeli war of 1967, and the Israeli claims that Jordan is a substitutive homeland for the Palestinian people by undermining its national history and identity (Abu-el-Haj, 2001), (Glock, 1995). Examples of such rooting came in the shape of publications such as “Jordan in the Stone Age” by Zaidan Kafafi (1990), and “The History of Jordan from the Islamic Conquest until the end of the 4th century of the Hegira/10th century CE” by Muhammad Abdul-Qadir Khraishat in 1992. Such publications cast “the Jordanian nation in the past as a unitary cohesive entity which has always existed from prehistoric times to the modern era” (Maffi, 2009). The forging of a special link between the Hashemite dynasty and the Nabatean civilisation has been also noted (Maffi, 2000).

The Biblical archaeological heritage and the rejection of the Israeli narrative aimed at de-historicising Jordan had great effect on shaping the Jordanian stance on cultural heritage in the present. On the one hand, the Christian character of Jordanian heritage is highly emphasised. The image of Jordan as Holy Land is promoted by renovating monuments and places related to the Christian tradition, and the participation in organisation of papal pilgrimages to Jordan in 1964 and 2000. Jordan is conceptualised as the land of cultural encounter, of religious tolerance and coexistence, and the papal visits to Jordan were not viewed merely as official visits, but as the coming together of the leaders of two spiritual worlds – the Pope representing the Christian, while the Hashemite leaders representing the leaders of the Muslim World (Katz, 2003).

On the other hand, Jewish history is almost absent from the representation of Jordan as the Holy Land (Addison, 2004), (Maffi, 2004). When the Jewish people are mentioned, it is in a context of aroused antagonism and hostility (Maffi, 2005). Although no sites of Jewish history were intentionally destroyed in Jordan, some fell to neglect, while others were represented as solely Christian places (Maffi, 2009).

The emphasis of the Christian character of Jordanian cultural heritage was not only on the expense of the Jewish archaeology. Islamic heritage was also obscured. Erin Addison (2004) examines the representation of Islamic heritage in Jordan via the analysis of the state of road signs and road access to sites, as she argues that “they indicate the value of the site as perceived by the state,” which has to provide them independently of the financial aid from aid and scholarly research. A comparison between this basic infrastructure for Christian versus Islamic sites is quite revealing; while the Christian sites boast new and highly visible signs and excellent access, the Islamic sites are obscured by lack of attention to the state of the signs and the condition (or the existence) of access roads. Addison attributes this to the circumstance of the tourism development in Jordan. Being a country with very limited natural resources, tourism plays a big role in economic development (Hazbun, 2002), (Daher, 2007). Daher (2005) notes that in 1999, the International Monetary Fund approved credits of \$220 million to assist with the Jordanian economic adjustment and structural reform programme for the period 1991-2001. A considerable portion of that amount was allocated to tourism, as it is thought to “cushion some of the financial hardships caused by liberalisation” (Gray, 2002). Tourism development program in Jordan materialised in the First and Second Priority Projects, which addressed urban development and tourism in a number of secondary cities in Jordan. World Bank, the USAID and Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) have been major sources of financial aid in support of tourism over the years. In this venue Addison notes that the focus on the Christian character of Jordanian heritage is due to the fact that places of Christian heritage “are what tourists want to see.” However she challenges this notion pointing to the fact that although UNESCO has only protected Petra and Qusair ‘Amra (an Umayyad palace) in Jordan, when EuroMed inaugurated the exhibition for “Museum with no Frontiers,” the choice of cultural heritage to showcase consisted of “the fabulous palaces of the Umayyad dynasty” to the exclusion of Christian heritage sites. Addison also notes that some of the projects of rehabilitating Christian heritage in Jordan do not uphold an economically efficient rationale. So for example the \$8.4 million joint government-USAID project to improve the tourist infrastructure in Maghtas (Christ’s baptism site) in 2002 will not generate more than \$350,000 a year if calculated according to optimistic expectations. Addison concludes that the educated opinion of UNESCO or the EuroMed matters little in comparison to the tastes of the Christian tourists, as the tourism and “cultural heritage management policy is being shaped by the big money that passes from state to state in the context of global politics.”

Furthermore, Daher (2005) notes that the development resulting from aid funded projects is superficial in what he terms “shock treatment and urban cosmetics.” He discusses the outcomes of an urban heritage rehabilitation project in Salt, part of the First and Second Priority Projects:

“this is a one-time limited intervention in the form of architectural cosmetics on the historical urban tissue of the city, without any serious attempt to address the establishment of heritage tools, systems, or practices that insure the continuity of urban regeneration and community involvement on the long run. Issues such as capacity-building, building communities, helping communities to invest in tourism, or other non-physical interventions are not likely to be addressed.”

Daher attributes these shortcomings to the fact that the practice is dominated by architects, engineers and urban planners to the exclusion of sociologists and anthropologists, therefore, he quotes Inam (2002), the practice is “obsessed with impressions and aesthetics of physical form; and it is practiced as an extension of architecture, which often implies an exaggerated emphasis on the end product.”

In regard to the construction of the urban historic national narrative in Amman, Daher (2010) argues that the modern history of Amman was discredited by Orientalist academic discourses which aimed to compare it with a fixed notion of what an Islamic or Arab city should be. This discourse qualified the heritage of Amman as “insignificant and marginal” (Daher, 2005). Daher also believes that this constructed crisis of identity of Amman needs to be countered, and that its urban cultural heritage needs to be “revealed and reactivated.” However, Daher (2010) also presents an optimistic outlook, focusing on the efforts of the “creative class” that “focuses on diversity and creativity as basic drivers of innovations and regional and national growth,” consisting of “architects, scientists, engineers, university professors, philosophers, artists, and novelists, to mention a few,” and who are “trying to make a difference either by researching the city... or by granting voice to its multilayered beginnings and marginalised realities; or by putting Amman on the tourism map... or by contributing to the creation of more inclusive public spaces in the City; or even by resisting neoliberal visions and agendas that are fragmenting the City at different levels.”

From the discussion above, a conflicting history of the development of dominant heritage narratives in Jordan can be revealed. On one hand, the Islamic religious narrative is frequently used by the Hashemite monarchy to validate their dominance and control; on the other hand, the search for a unique Jordanian identity, in order to counter the Israeli threat, necessitates going back to pre-Islamic history and “invent” a continuity of “Jordanian” civilisation across the ages, obscuring at the same time any traces of Jewish history. However, it appears that the narrative associated with aid and funding supporting the Jordanian economy dominates in the end, as the heritage of Jordan is presented with a heavy emphasis on its Christian character. Conflicts emerging from the official heritage narrative undoubtedly contribute to contradictions manifesting in conceptualisation of heritage and most specifically the conceptualisation of al-Balad as a space of heritage.

Chapter Six: understanding al-Balad, the problem, and the construction of meaning of heritage in its space

6.1. Introduction

The previous chapters have explored the various possible sources of discord that contribute to the emergence of the research problem observed in the apparent contradiction between the significant status of al-Balad in discourse and its relatively insignificant status in practice. These sources of discord manifest in the contradictions in the conceptualisation of heritage, in the exclusionary dynamics of power in the process of meaning construction in capitalist societies, and the inherent dissonance of identity of groups that contribute to construction. In Chapter Five, the contradictions emerging between identity and the construction of heritage have been contextualised by exploring the relationship between the two variables in Jordan via the findings of fieldwork. In this chapter I contextualise the contradictions emerging in the process of meaning construction in al-Balad by applying the semiotic model developed in Chapter Three.

This chapter begins by introducing the historical layers of al-Balad in order to substantiate its status as a place of heritage. The historical introduction to al-Balad's periods of prosperity and decline introduce a more objective examination of the problem of research via the use of mapping and survey findings that situate the place in the context of urban dynamics in Amman and explore the discord resulting from contradicting influences of decentralisation and gentrification. The next step is to deconstruct al-Balad to its constituting attributes in order to examine possible contradictions latent in its conceptualisation as a place of heritage by the mainstream and popular discourses. This is achieved by extracting the attributes from a topic analysis as explained in Chapter Two and by statistically analysing the findings of the conducted survey and application of the semiotic model based on Barthes' framework of the myth, synthesised with the concept of four levels of value by Baudrillard and the concept of abstract space by Lefebvre.

6.2. Al-Balad through histories of prosperity and decline

6.2.1. The complex historical layers of Amman

The history of al-Balad is analogous to the history of Amman, and as the case with many locations throughout Jordan, extends well into 9th century BC. Amman is dotted all over with complex strata of multiple periods of occupation, beginning with the Neolithic period (circa 9500 BC) (Rollefson, Simmons, & Kafafi, 1992). The Canaanites, ruling the area of Amman in late Bronze ages, introduced the toponym "Ammon," meaning "a place of living" or "a settlement" (Ibn Manthour, 1968 (1232-1311)) from which the modern name of

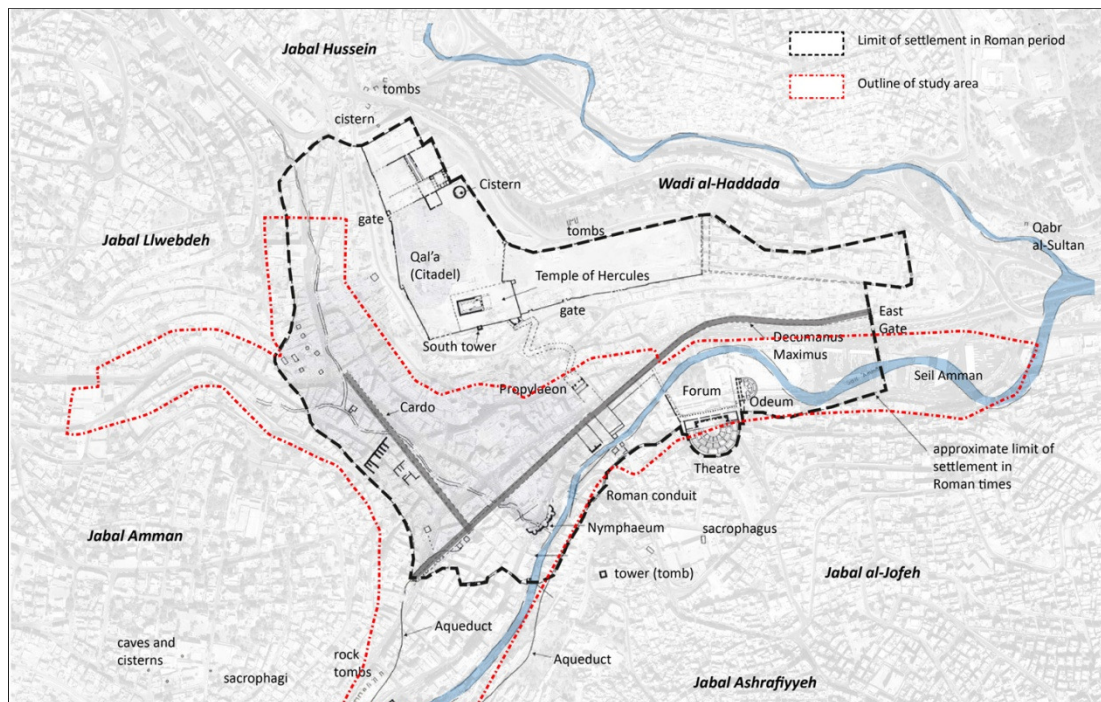


Figure 6-1: Roman period landmarks as excavated in al-Balad (Northedge, 1992). Some of the archaeological landmarks are still standing, while others have been demolished or built on.

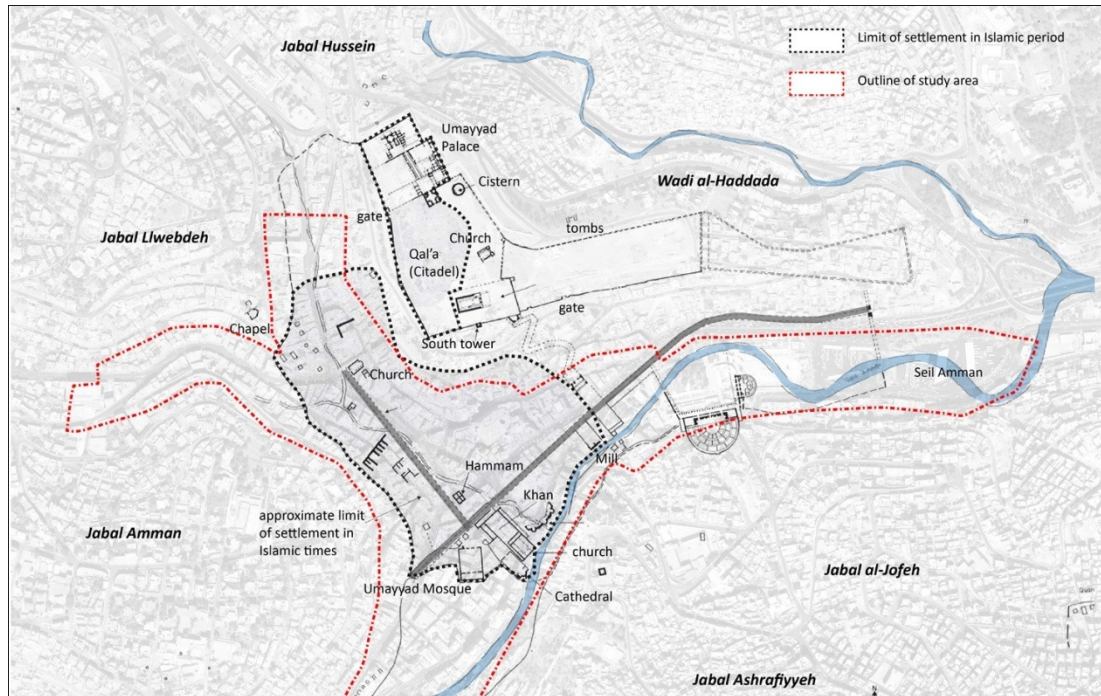


Figure 6-2: Islamic period landmarks as excavated in al-Balad (Northedge, 1992).



Figure 6-4: Archaeological landmarks of Amman before the arrival of the Circassians; the Roman theatre and the Odeon to its left. (Northedge, 1992).



Figure 6-5: Amman at the turn of the 20th century; a general view of the village, with the minaret of the Umayyad mosque in the centre. The village has been built up by the Circassians under Ottoman supervision. Picture provided by the archaeologist Dr. Fawzi Zayadine during an interview in 2009.



Figure 6-6: Amman at the turn of the 20th century; a photograph of the Nymphaeum (Roman Bath), with obvious traces of Circassian building activity - there is a small wall with a door built against an arch, and the stones in the foreground are arranged presumably to be reused in building. A typical Circassian cart can be seen in the foremost foreground. Picture provided by the archaeologist Dr. Fawzi Zayadine during an interview in 2009.

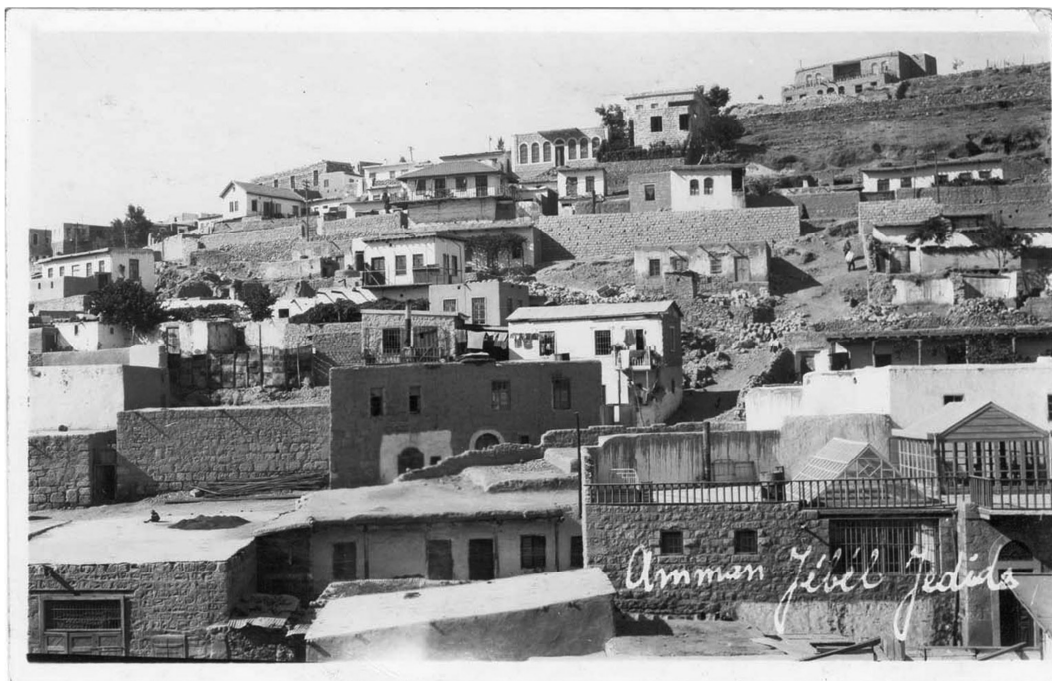


Figure 6-7: View of Amman in the 1940s. The town extends up the slopes of Jabal Amman (Bakig, 1983).



Figure 6-8: View of Amman in the 1930s. A market street in al-Balad with the Hamidiyyeh Fountain still in place. It has since been demolished (Bakig, 1983).



Figure 6-9: views of official celebrations in the city. A military parade taking place at Faisal Street – the main street of al-Balad. Most of the buildings in this picture are demolished (Bakig, 1983).

Amman is derived. But at that time, Rabbath Ammon (meaning the Kingdom of Ammon) was politically insignificant and stood in the shadow of the city-state of Sahab (an industrial region of the metropolitan south Amman today).

The city remained settled and witnessed the ebb and flow of significance according to its occupation through the Assyrian, Achaeminidian, and the Greek states, under which it was renamed to Philadelphia (meaning “brotherly love”) by its ruler Ptolemy II Philadelphus (283-246 BC). Later under the Roman rule it was designated as a member of the Decapolis (64-63 BC). This was a period of prosperity and building; the city became part of a regional highway - the Via Nova Traiana, and a strong military presence in the north ensured stable trade with Damascus (MacAdam, 1992). At this point in time, Philadelphia appeared as a product of Graeco-Roman traditional culture, whereby it celebrated its Hellenistic heritage with its dynastic name, its constitution and coins, and structures such as a theatre, an odeon, a gymnasium (yet undiscovered) and a propylaeon. Its sense of Roman identity was linked to the forum, the baths, the temple complex on the citadel, the colonnaded streets, bridges, a conduit, military presence, dedications to emperors and highways that ran through and near the city (Figure 6-1).

In the Byzantine period (2nd-7th century AD) Philadelphia was a peaceful and relatively prosperous city through the 4th-7th centuries as part of Byzantine Arabia (Northedge, 1992), tucked away from political and religious centres. In 634 AD Amman was conquered by Yazid ibn Abi Sufyan in the wake of the conquest of Damascus, falling under Islamic rule. The Umayyad rule, which started in 661 AD was one of the most importance for Jordan and Amman in particular as it formed one of the highest points in history before the modern times. Amman was incorporated into jund Dimashq, becoming the seat of the district of al-Balqa, and rising to the status of the second city in Syria (Northedge, 1992). In comparison to surrounding cities, Amman was the most prosperous, and was the only city to host monumental construction in the form of a Palace and mosques (Figure 6-2). In the years between 746 and 749 AD Jordan and Palestine were heavily affected by a severe earthquake. Abbasids who took over in 750 AD, took a land in ruins. The Abbasids did not invest in reconstruction in Syria as they established the seat of their rule in Baghdad and Jordan lost its role as the land of princes.

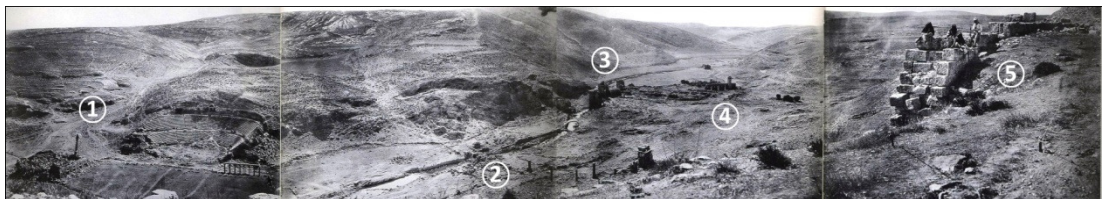


Figure 6-3: panorama of al-Balad as seen from the Citadel, taken in 1875 before the arrival of Circassians a year later by the American Palestine Exploration Society (Northedge, 1992). The photograph shows 1) the Roman theatre and Odeon; 2) Seil Amman; 3) the remnants of the Nymphaeum; 4) the remnants of the Umayyad mosque and 5) the remnants of the Citadel wall.

In the years after the creation of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1099 (the Kingdom lasted till 1291 AD), Jordan became a battleground between the Crusaders and the Muslim Emirs of Damascus bringing much destruction to the area. Eventually, in the 14th century AD, a combination of earthquakes, plagues and insecurity resulted in the desertion of

Amman. Yet, it did not die out completely. As the pastures, springs and the khan of Amman were a short diversion away from the pilgrim road from Damascus to the holy sites of Arabia.

Amman did not re-emerge on the maps until the Tanzimat regime in late Ottoman period (19th century), when it was resettled by Circassian immigrants, fleeing from the Caucasus region due to Russian Tsarist oppression. Circassians settled the old ruins of the city (Figures 6-3, 4, 5 & 6), cultivated the land and supported the Ottomans in the promotion of security, enabling them to establish civic and administrative institutions (Hamarneh, 1996) (Figures 6-7 & 8). In the following years, in an attempt to provide a faster and safer route for pilgrims en route to Mecca, and to bring the Southern provinces under more direct authority, the Ottomans laid the Hejaz railroad connecting Syria to Arabia and established a station in Amman. Security and connectivity attracted merchants and residents from surrounding regions, contributing to the growth of the city (Rogan, 1999). Despite this evolution of Amman, Salt remained the largest and most important town in the Balqa'; it remained the seat of the governor and the most important trading centre of the district.

In March 1921, in the course of the Arab Revolt against the ruling Ottoman Turks, Emir Abdullah arrived to Amman with a small force en route to liberate Damascus. However, due to political reasons, he remained in Amman and was declared the Emir of the Emirate of Transjordan on April the 11th. In the period of the Emirate (1921-1946), which was under the British mandate, the city grew slowly along already established lines from the little village on the intersection of wadis (stream basins or valleys) spreading over the hill slopes to their tops. The market streets and residential quarters already established by the Circassians and the Arab merchants expanded and grew denser. State authority was expressed through parades and ceremonies (Figure 6-9), and projects of state symbolism were conducted on a modest level: the Royal residence at Raghadan Palace was built on the hill directly after the Citadel, and the British representative's residence was built on the same hill in the following years. The state mosque was built at the heart of al-Balad on top of the ruins of an Umayyad mosque (which was in turn built in a place of a Byzantine church), sparking conflict between the Emir and the British representative. The city began the slow construction of buildings that would transform it into a capital. The resources of the state were scarce, and although the Emirate benefitted from British aid, Britain did not have significant interests in the region of Jordan, and it suffered from the repercussions of World War Two. At this point in time the Emir still had plans for Arab unification in the Greater Syria region and hoped to proceed towards Damascus. Amman thus did not get the attention it deserved as a capital of the new nation. This translated in slow growth, in non-monumentality of new official buildings. The prevalent architectural style was an extension of the traditional architecture of the Syrian region, while the architectural style of the everyday man was hybridisation, transformed to suit the relative scarcity of craftsmanship in comparison to Syria or Palestine, and the introduction of new materials, such as reinforced concrete (Shawash, 2003).

The history of Amman produced extremely rich and complex archaeological strata that lies buried within the extents of the city, which converge on the area of al-Balad. Al-Balad has always been the centre of what is known as Rabbath Ammon, or Philadelphia through the

ages. Another significant point in the summary is the interruption of settlement in the area of Amman starting in the 14th century. This interruption lasted for approximately five centuries, until the arrival of the Circassians in late 19th century. The beginning of Amman was based on the congregation of multiple ethnic and cultural groups: Circassians; members of the Bedouin tribes that had control over the area; settled merchants from Syria, Palestine and Lebanon; and people arriving from other trans-Jordanian cities and villages in search for better opportunities. Despite this diversity, and due to the circumstances of establishing the new nation, the growth of Amman was slow, and the resulting architecture was an abstracted hybrid of the traditional architecture in the region.

6.2.2. Development of Amman and al-Balad in the period 1946 till today

Al-Balad is the original centre of the city Amman. As the aerial maps for the years 1918 and 1953 show, the city did not extend far beyond the reach of al-Balad, and no new centres were formed. However, in the decades following the establishment of the Emirate, Jordan witnessed several events that drastically contributed to shaping its modern history, and left repercussions on the urban level. Just after the end of World War Two, in 1946, Jordan gained independence and became the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. In 1948 and 1967, in the aftermath of the first Arab-Israeli wars, waves of Palestinian refugees arrived by the thousand, settling in Jordan and changing the makeup of the Jordanian society. The seventies witnessed an oil boom, an influx of capital in the shape of aid and remittances from the oil rich countries of the Arab Gulf and the rise of the influence of Islamic currents; while the nineties were the age of opening up to the Neo-liberal world by joining the World Trade Organisation and implementing a number of policies in that direction.

Historically, Amman, which was confined to al-Balad, has been shaped by the wadis, the hills and the Seil. In the years after Jordan's independence, several masterplans were proposed capitalising on these natural elements. The first masterplan was proposed in 1955 and was greatly influenced by contemporary approaches to British town planning such as preserving green space by the introduction of green belts and by the planning of satellite towns separated by green space in order to control the sprawl and enhance the quality of life. There was a strong focus on the provision of public space and incorporating symbols of nationalism, in the form of buildings that represent the nation, in the centre of the city. As such, the wadis were proposed to be zoned for public open space, to create green fingers penetrating the heart of the city, while the neighbourhoods would extend over hill tops. Special consideration was given to Citadel Hill, as a place steeped in history and comparable to Acropolis at Athens as a traditional "Capitol" or government site. It seemed logical to propose building the new Parliament Buildings on this elevated position, closely linked with the Royal Palaces on the adjacent hill (King, 1955). As for the city centre, and in accord with the idea of "planned redevelopment" of city centres in Britain in 1950s in the aftermath of World War Two bombings, it was proposed to designate the area located between the Hussein Mosque and Hammam Bridge as a "central park" which would include public buildings, such as a town hall, public library, theatre, new shopping blocks, car free shopping precincts, transportation facilities, landscaped pedestrian promenade along the river front and a hippodrome for ceremonials and parades and a sports stadium. Although the proposals of this masterplan were too ambitious for the size and economical condition of Amman at the time, they succeeded in exerting influence on subsequent imaginings

about the city (Malkawi, 1996), although as Abu-Dayyeh (2004) observes, urban elements proposed in masterplans for Amman took the average of about 20 years to be realised. The subsequent redevelopment of al-Balad took into consideration the ideas of a “central park,” improvement of business, commercial and leisure facilities and the need for constructing a group of representational and administrative government buildings in a prominent site (Abu-Dayyeh, 2004).

The sixties witnessed an ascendance in the power and influence of USA characterised by an unprecedented influx of economic and military aid to Jordan¹, thus breaking the patterns of the British mandate (Kingston, 1994). The United State operations Mission had great weight in the development in Jordan, and under its Point Four Programme, a Planning Division was established in the Jordan Development Board, which was responsible for Jordan’s first Five-Year-Plan² in 1962 and eventually led to the approval of the Law of Planning Cities, Villages and Buildings No. 79 for the year 1966, which regulates the overall shape of the city and its architecture and is still in effect today. Throughout the sixties, an Anglo-American policy prevailed to reduce budget support for Jordan, while compensating by increases in development loan finance (Kingston, 2001). Another substantial loss for the Jordanian economy was the severance of the West Bank due to Israeli occupation in 1967. In these circumstances, the Seven-Year Program for the Development of Jordan, 1964-1970, emphasised improvement of the tourist industry as a resource for the Jordanian economy. Since Amman became the gateway to the Holy Land and touristic locations such as Petra and Jerash, it became necessary to provide accommodation and make a favorable impression on visitors. For this purpose, the centre of the city was to be redeveloped along the lines of the 1955 plan, yet focusing on the touristic redevelopment of the city centre of Amman, which was termed in these proposals as the “Central Business District.” On the level of the city, the pattern of urban expansion towards the West was accepted in the plan of 1967, and it was proposed to relieve the crowded city centre by decentralising activities through the creation of “traffic magnets,” large commercial areas along the main axis road; in addition to this, the plan proposed two circumferential ring roads and the widening of the radial ones passing through the central areas, which led to the subsequent covering of the main rivulet – Seil Amman (Newcombe, 1967).

The two plans of 1955 and 1967 were united in their desire to stage the city and put the most obvious symbols of the newly found nationhood on display. Yet, while the plan of 1955 was to be directed at the nation itself, as Abu-Dayyeh (2004) suggests: “[in] a kind of internal discourse to affirm the sameness of the community of citizens and, by extension, their identification with the political leadership”; the plan of 1967 directed the display at the tourist.

Two subsequent plans proposed in 1978 and as part of the Greater Amman Comprehensive Development Plan for the period 1985-2005 targeted the development of al-Balad. Yet, while the plan of 1978 was designed in times of economical upturn brought about by a

¹ Prior to 1957, the sum of USA grant to Jordan was \$37.9 million, while in the period 1957-1962 it peaked to \$283.3 million (Kingston, *Breaking the patterns of the Mandate: economic nationalism and State formation in Jordan, 1951-57*, 1994).

² Which eventually developed into the Seven-Year Program for the Economic Development of Jordan, 1964-1970.

climate of a global inflationary capital-surplus crisis, the second plan was proposed to address a state of economical crisis. Thus while the plan of 1978 proposed monumental structures to service al-Balad and develop its capacity as a place of tourism, the second plan steered away from grand ideas in favour of well organised effort for incremental improvements. The plan recommended two “action areas,” one of which was al-Balad (GAM & Dar al-Handasah, 1988); as well as a tall buildings policy in the CBD and the bordering areas; a policy for environmental protection; a policy for the protection of archaeological, architectural and historical landmarks; and a number of projects including a new bus terminal (Raghadan terminal), three public squares (the Hashemite Plaza, the Roman Plaza, and the Hussein Mosque Plaza), and a National Museum; whereby all of these projects compose the bulk of public space and facilities in al-Balad today. This plan too incorporated elements of staging, yet the proposed architecture was linearly extending, and low-laying. However, as the city extended towards the West, al-Balad was on the way to losing its centrality both geographically and symbolically.

The next plan proposed to redevelop al-Balad and the city as a whole was the Amman Masterplan, initiated in 2006. The first years of the new millennium posed unprecedented challenges: global reactions in the aftermath of 9/11 and the war of terror restricted the investment of Arab capital in the USA and Europe thus forcing its investment in the region. The combination of insurgences in the Middle East and the political stability and moderation in Jordan made it an attractive investment destination. Furthermore, the waves of Iraqi and Lebanese refugees, created capital surplus and an acute demand for organised urban expansion and the resolution of current urban blights of haphazard growth, inadequate infrastructure and soaring land prices. The city was in dire need of an active and progressive strategic plan to guide development and capture the best of the available investment opportunities for the next 20 years.

The proposed masterplan focuses on the intensification and densification of growth within the boundaries of the existing city. The boundaries of the city are redefined by a new ring road (Amman Development Corridor) (World Bank, 2004), with the objective of redirecting the growth of the city towards the East, thus allowing the old city and al-Balad to reclaim their central position. The masterplan also set in motion a number of policies and projects involving revitalising public space and construction of public projects, in addition to relieving traffic congestions, and most importantly the establishment and activation of a “heritage unit” within the Department of Studies and Design at GAM for the purposes of identification and assessment of heritage buildings and facilitating the implementation of “heritage” legislation (Official Gazette, 2005), and the designation of al-Balad, the city centre of Amman as a “core cultural heritage centre.” Several of the projects proposed by the masterplan are located in al-Balad and the extents of the old city (Figure 6-10). These include:

- Faisal Street Urban Regeneration and Revitalisation Project: this project is currently in the research and planning phase. The project aims to enhance the current significant urban heritage places within the project area; achieve economic vitality; and narrate the story of Amman and its multi-layered beginnings within Sahet Faisal (Faisal Plaza). The project includes two streets in al-Balad: Faisal and Basman streets and linking passageways. Other projects within the area of al-Balad include

the establishment of a tourist centre in the former Public Library building and beatification of the space in front of Hussein Mosque (GAM, 2007(b)) (GAM, 2007(a)).

- Rainbow Street Urban Regeneration Project: this project consists of physical rehabilitation of the main street of a heritage district which has already started attracting the cultural and artistic “gentry” through improving streets, sidewalks and street furniture; proposing attractions and events and implementing them through space branding and introduction of thematic nodes in the urban space. This project has already been successfully implemented.
- Urban Strip Project: an urban development project for a 4 km long narrow derelict strip, which consists of part of the dry bed of the Seil. Design proposals are to include mixed uses (commercial outlets, offices, housing, academies and clinics), public projects such as a theme park and a concert plaza and open landscaped public space. The project is in its initial stages.
- Raghadan Regeneration Project: an urban design project to rehabilitate an urban space consisting of an archaeological Roman theatre and Odeon, a public garden and an open plaza (Hashemite Plaza), and areas in their direct perimeter. It also includes the re-use of the recently constructed new Raghadan bus terminal, whose original function was relocated to another place while the building was dedicated for revenue-generating uses to bring income for GAM. The detailed design of the project is concluded and the project is awaiting implementation.
- Darat King Abdullah II: a project for the design and building of a grand auditorium for musical concerts and education.
- Omar Matar St. Rehabilitation Project: this project targets the streets and open spaces surrounding GAM’s headquarters and surrounding cultural buildings such as King Hussein Cultural Centre and the National Museum of Jordan. It aims at providing traffic and parking solutions, street and sidewalk beautification and providing landscaped open public space. It is currently in its intermediate stages.

Another project which is of great importance for the city as a whole, and of relevance to this research is the Abdali Project. Abdali project is the first major real-estate project in Amman and was initiated by a partnership of a Jordanian quasi-governmental corporation MAWARED and the Lebanese giant Saudi-Oger. This multi-billion project uses a marketing strategy of proclaiming itself the new CBD/ downtown of Amman and is the subject of much debate on the effect of neo-liberal strategies on Jordanian economy and urbanism.

From the summary above it can be observed that the development of Amman and al-Balad was very much influenced by British approach to planning in the start and by the US approach since the 1960s. This influence came in the shape of financial aid and loans with emphasis on specific development projects, and in the shape of expertise involved in the planning and design of these projects. The conception of what al-Balad should be also shifted through the decades; starting with an emphasis on creating national symbols, in parallel with the idea of creating a new nation, the British directed their projects towards the citizen; the US planners on the other hand were more concerned with the economical value of development and directed projects towards the consumer – oftentimes the tourist. Despite what Abu-Dayyeh (2004) describes as a “persisting vision” in the planning of the

city, and although these visions had an important effect in shaping the city and al-Balad of today, the lag of the average of 20 years in implementing the vision suggests a reactionary implementation of planning. Urban growth was haphazard, and different social and political dynamics contributed to conflicting momenta; the above mentioned plans were produced oftentimes in an attempt to organise and direct, and alleviate the problems caused by sprawl.

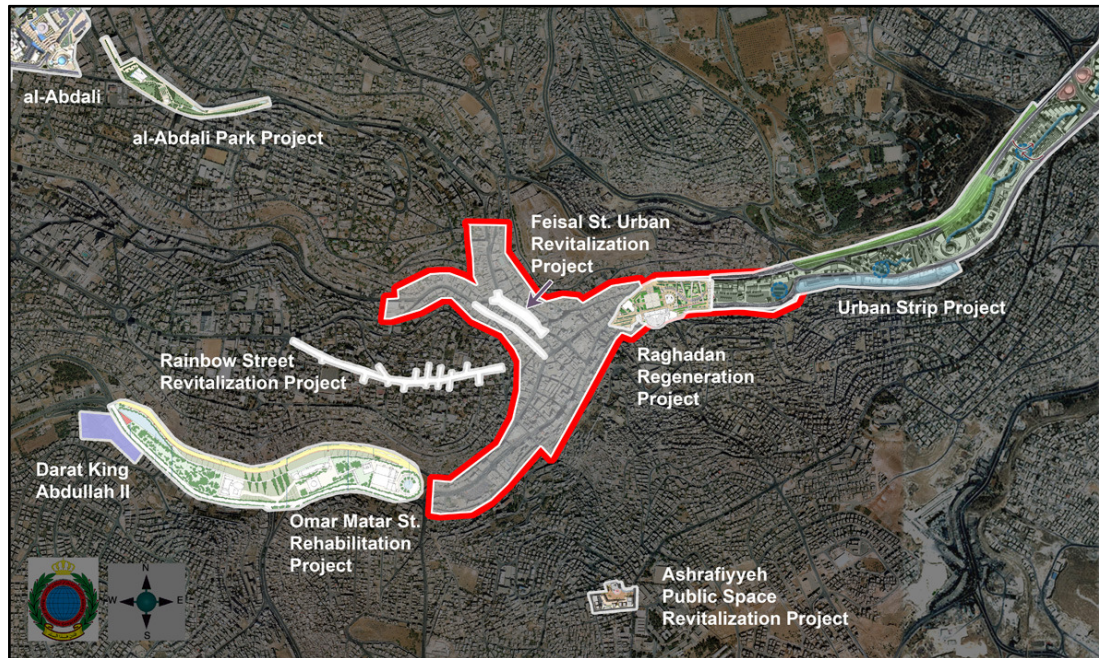


Figure 6-10: Projects initiated by GAM and the State in and surrounding al-Balad.

6.3. Revealing the contradictions in the urban status of al-Balad and substantiating the research problem

In the context of dichotomy between the planned and the unplanned, al-Balad's role as a centre and as a part of the city was repeatedly transformed. The significance of al-Balad shifted westwards as the foci of political and religious power including the Royal residence, military and intelligence headquarters, the State Mosque, and the Parliament gradually relocated to western areas in Amman following the expansion of the city.

Another process that accompanied the decentralisation and the expansion of the city towards the West is the polarisation of the city. Polarisation in Amman has been noted (Daher, 2006), (Daher, 2007), and is ubiquitous in Ammani popular culture through the differentiation of the city into a wealthy West and a poor East. Biegel (1996) attributes this phenomenon to zoning of housing types introduced by municipal planning. He argues that when the city expanded towards the West, 90% of zoned housing land was parcelled into the larger-lot categories A and B³ "because it was the aim of city quarter municipalities to

³ Category A: where minimum front setback must be 5m, side setbacks 5m and rear setback 7m. Maximum licensed area of the housing unit is (36%) out of the total land area, which should not be less than (1000) sq. m. Category B: where minimum front setback must be 4m, side setbacks 4m and rear setback 6m. Maximum licensed area of the housing unit is 42% out of the total land area, which should not be less than (750) sq. m. Category C: where minimum front setback must be 4m, side setbacks 3m and rear setback 4m. Maximum licensed area of the housing unit is 48% out of

collect as much land and property fees as possible,” thus excluding poorer income groups. Exploring the position of al-Balad in the context of urban polarisation would give a better understanding of the place, however no such mapping is available. The interviews of the pilot field research showed a division of opinion on the accuracy of this notion, whereby some of the city inhabitants claimed it was a myth, and all of the interviewees diverged in locating a boundary between these two halves of the city, although all claimed that al-Balad was located in Eastern Amman.

Thus, the study undertook a mapping of the city that explores the existence of this polarisation and the position of downtown in this regard. However, Biegel’s approach that depended on housing categories was not suitable for this purpose; as the data on zoning into larger plot categories does not provide information on the type of building on the plot, it might be a villa, or a residential building of rental flats, which differ greatly in the economical status of the resident. In addition, many residents in the poorer areas avoid regulations altogether when constructing new homes. A different approach was required, and so the mapping depended on measuring the rent and value of land, both residential and commercial for all areas and neighbourhoods of Amman, on the proposition that the average rent and the average price of land are indicator of the relative economical status of an area⁴ (Figures 6-11, 12 & 13). The mapping illustrated a differentiation of the city into two zones of different economical status, substantiating the polarisation debate. The above mentioned figures show the status of downtown in relation to the other 19 areas in terms of residential, commercial and office prices of rent, and the price of residential and commercial land (for the ranking of areas in terms of price refer to Annex 7). In terms of rent for residential and office space, and for the price of commercial and residential land, al-Balad (Al-Madinah) mostly ranks as second cheapest area out of 20. It is only in terms of rent for commercial space that al-Balad ranks higher. The data shows that al-Balad rates 6th and 7th cheapest out of 20 for the small and the large commercial space respectively, while dropping to the third cheapest in relation to medium sized commercial space.

Although this information puts al-Balad in perspective in relation to the city, it is even more interesting to compare its ranking in relation to Zahran area, directly adjacent to the west. Zahran consistently ranks as 17-18 out of 20 in terms of rent for residential, commercial and office spaces, and 16-15 for the price of commercial and residential land respectively. Both these areas represent the oldest parts of the city, and this vast difference of real-estate value status can be linked to a process of gentrification. It could be propose here that the vast difference in real-estate value noticed between Zahran and al-Balad are shaped in a form of a frontier of disparity in land value and in lifestyle, a frontier termed by Smith (1986) as “the frontier of gentrification.”

The process of gentrification is mostly notable in the two adjacent neighbourhoods of Jabal Lweibdeh and Jabal Amman. Both Jabals Amman and Lwebdeh are part of the historical “modern” Amman (the extents according to the 1953 aerial photograph) and were first

the total land area, which should not be less than (500) sq. m. Category D: where minimum front setback must be 3m, side setbacks 2.5m and rear setback 2.5m. Maximum licensed area of the housing unit is 52% out of the total land area, which should not be less than (300) sq. m. (Law of Planning of Cities, Villages, and Buildings No. 79, 1979).

⁴The methodology of mapping is explained in Chapter Two.

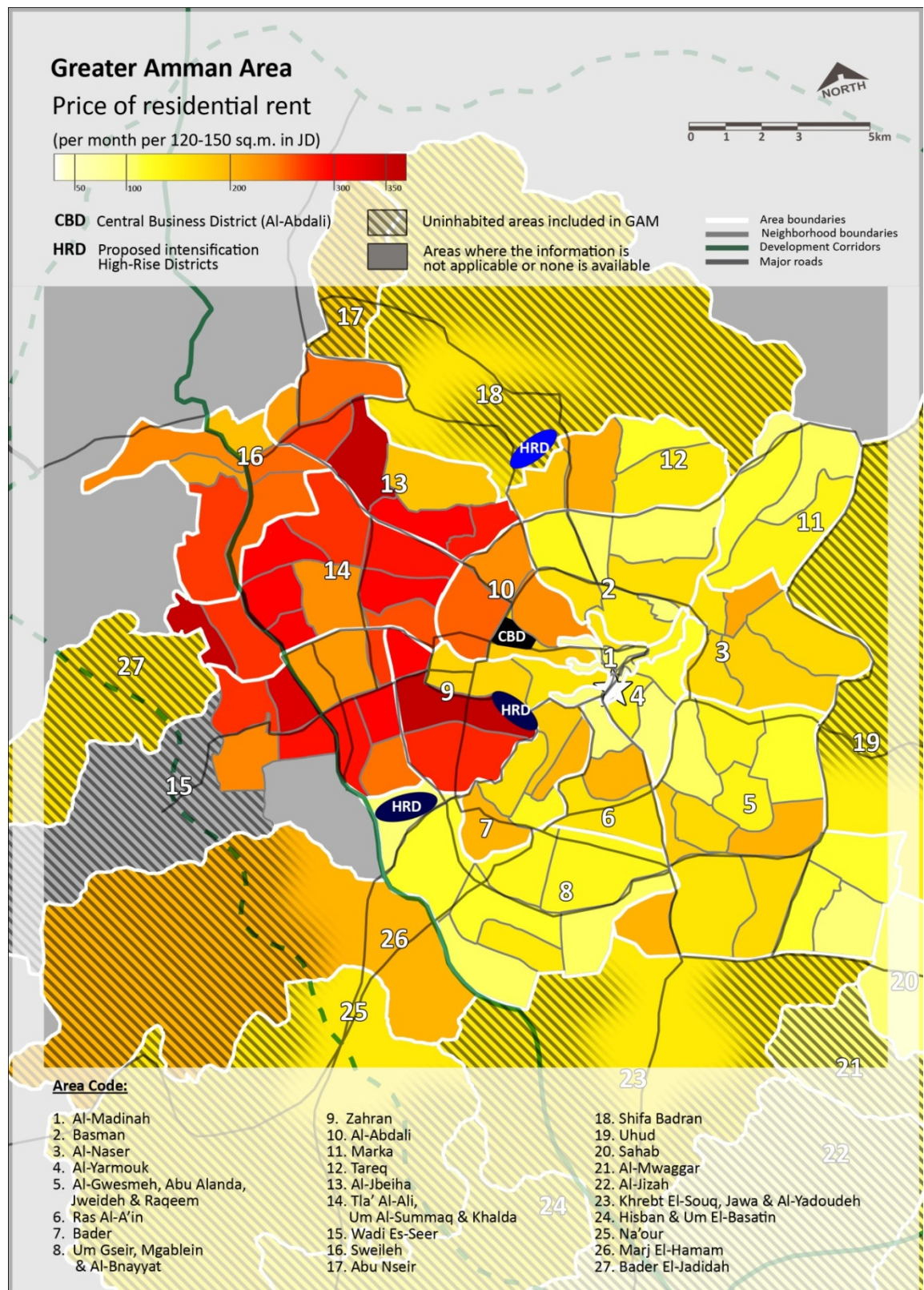


Figure 6-11: Mapping of the price of residential rent in Amman, 2007.

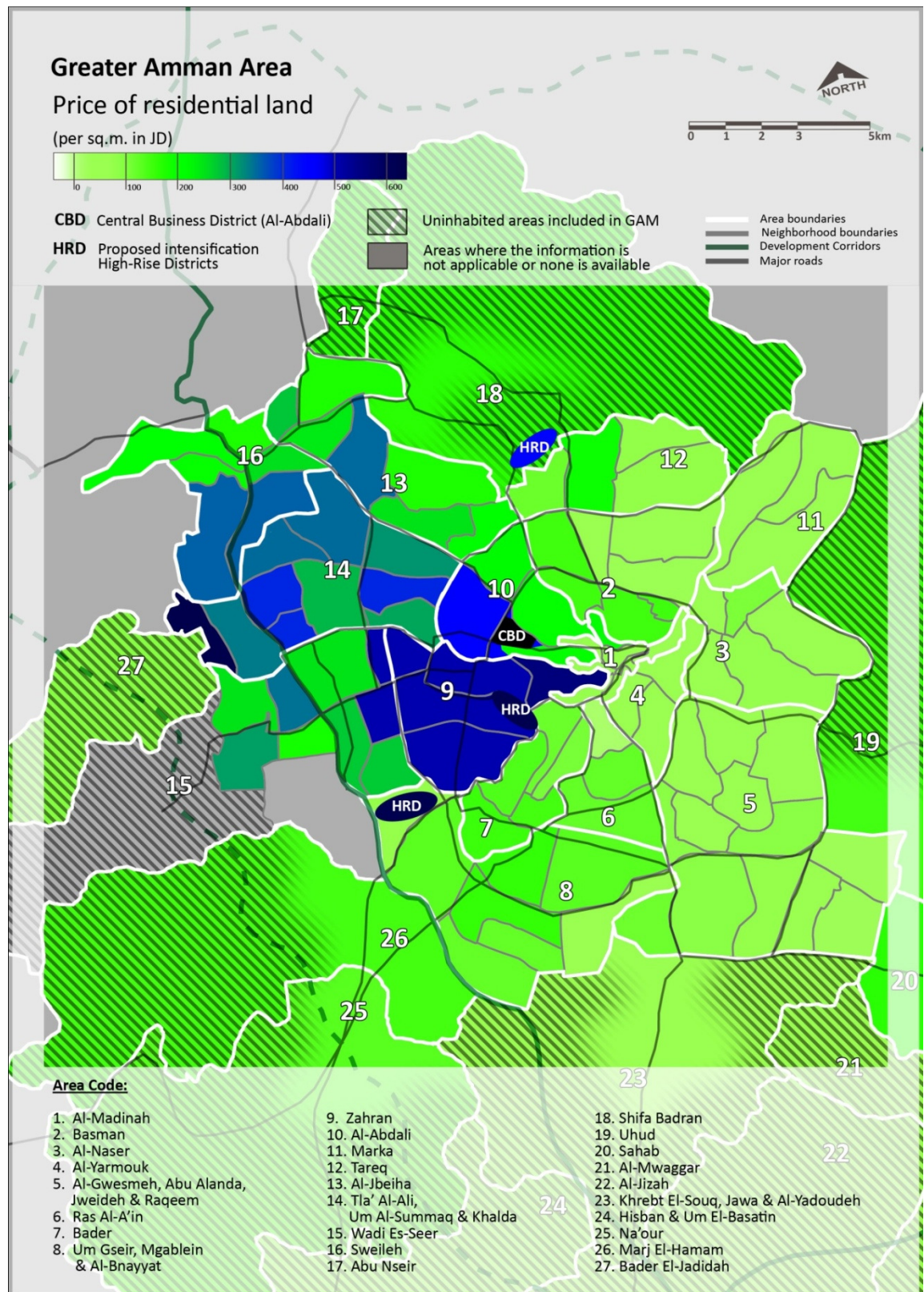


Figure 6-12: Mapping of the price of residential land in Amman, 2007.

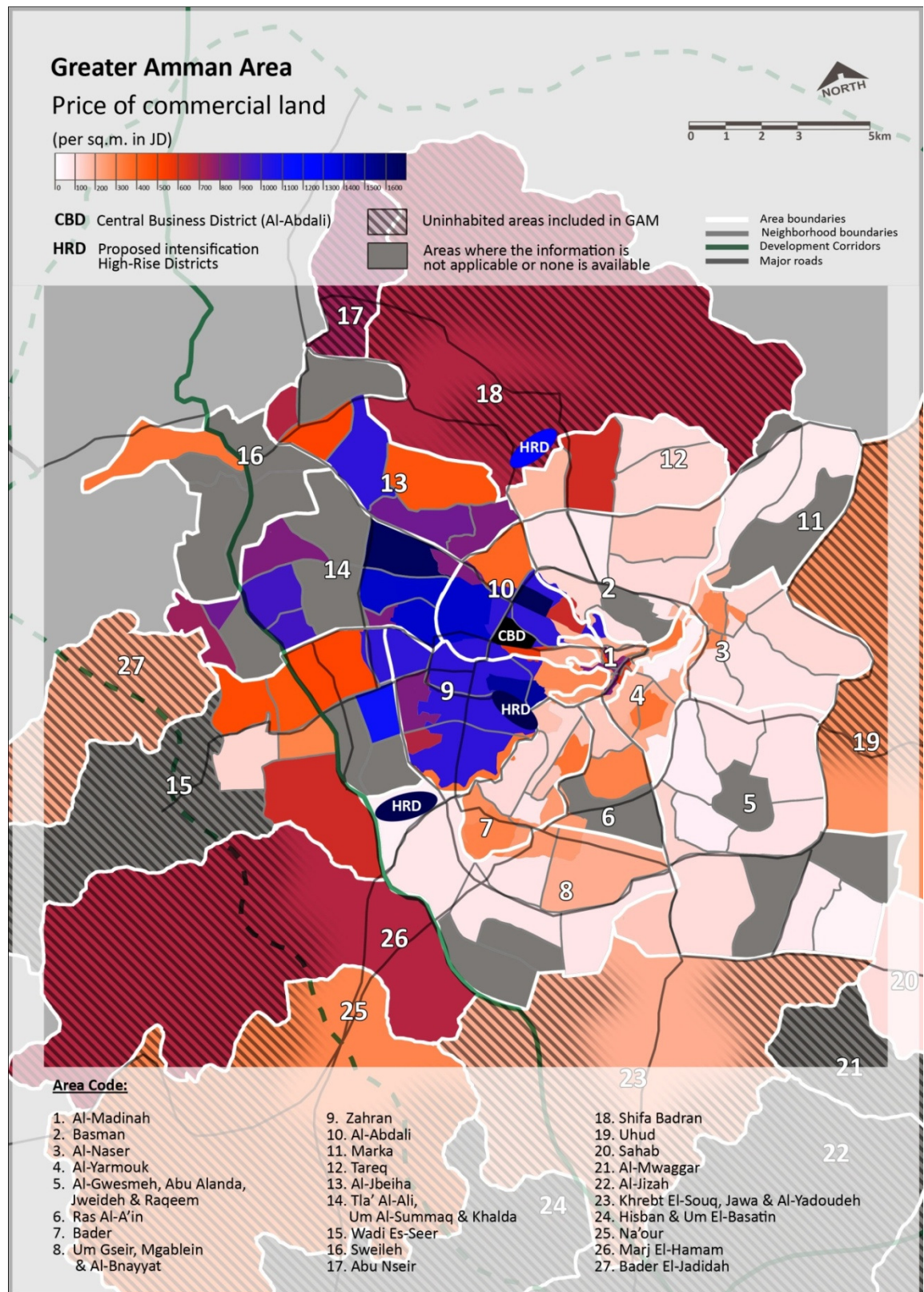


Figure 6-13: Mapping of the price of commercial land in Amman, 2007.

populated in the early 1920s. Both are primarily residential and are remarkable for their architecture which is a mix of traditional and early-modern houses, streets of a human scale, staircases and alleys, and panoramic views over the city. Jabal Lwebdeh has previously been a hub of embassies, and when they relocated to newer areas became a focus of artistic and cultural life of Jordan. The Jordan National Gallery for Fine Arts was established there in 1980, and Darat al-Funun (House of Arts) in 1990, and many cafe/cultural venues opened in the past decade. It has also reinvented itself as a hub for NGOs, who rent individual villas and convert them to offices. Jabal Amman on the other hand has been the home of social elite, and many of the oldest and most influential families have ancestral homes there. However many of these houses remain empty due to preference of residents to relocate to newer areas, buildings and infrastructure, and the division of ownership due to inheritance.

In the last decade, Jabal Amman has also witnessed a transformation into a cultural district. At the time being a relatively central area of the city, with a stock of architecturally significant buildings of cheap market value, it attracted several cafés and commercial outlets that follow the themes of “culture,” “environment” and “heritage,” as well as few NGOs such as Jordan River Foundation, Centre for the Study of Built Environment and the Royal Film Commission. The local community, organised in Jabal Amman Residents Association (JARA), has also contributed by organising a summer Friday market that caters for arts, antiques, entertainment and food in a flea-market style (JARA, 2008). Furthermore, a noticeable phenomenon is taking place, since this area reclaimed its appeal; the price of residential properties has been on the rise. To aggravate the land-price conditions even more, a development company (Al-Asriya Development Co.) has bought many houses in the area between the First Circle and al-Balad market, in order to rehabilitate and resell them. The whole project is a long term one (with a time span of 20 years) and is conceptualise in the framework of regeneration and revitalisation, as there will be plans to introduce more mixed-use zoning into the area in collaboration with GAM (interview with Kolaghassi, 2007) (interview with Ghandour, 2009). The aim will be to “develop the area into a new vernacular ‘city village’ that preserves one of the city’s oldest neighborhoods while modernising and bringing its buildings infrastructure up-to-date” (2K, 2007). Despite these claims, the actual gentrification of the area for residential purposes is reluctant, and very few families choose to relocate to Jabal Amman or Lwebdeh from the better off neighborhoods of Western Amman. For these reasons, some Jordanian urbanists (Malkawi, 2009) argue that it is not a “real” process of gentrification: it is not gentry of artistic or cultured middle class who are relocating to the area, and the new uses are not residential.

A thorough discussion of the process of gentrification in the neighborhoods west of al-Balad would require collection of original data from the field and analysis that is beyond the scope of this thesis, however, even a brief understanding of the processes taking place could shed light on construction of heritage in Amman and the accompanying spatial implications. On one hand, the processes of regeneration resulted in the rehabilitation of several heritage buildings, and their incorporation into the life of Amman through use for cultural or leisure purposes; many of the home-owner families who have lived in Jabal Amman for generations benefitted from the rise in the price of their real-estate; while the streets of Jabal Amman became more pedestrian friendly, with accessible and attractive

public space and frequent cultural events that attract people from all of the city; Jabal Amman was transformed into a destination. On the other hand, the steep rise in property prices threatens to push out vulnerable renting groups living in the neighborhood, groups that comprise of lower-income Jordanians, Iraqis and Egyptians, as the alienation of local communities has often been one of the results of heritage revitalisation projects in Jordan (Daher, 1999).

The reuse of heritage buildings tends to be directed primarily towards cultural and leisure activities. Very often heritage buildings are transformed into museums, art galleries, antique shops, cafés and restaurants, whereby all of these uses, due to the nature of their content or price-range, exclude lower-income groups. In the fieldwork conducted for this research about 68% of residents of Amman supported the reuse of heritage buildings as arts gallery or a museum, while in reality, only 4% sought out cultural activities in the city on a semi-regular basis (ranging from daily to monthly). This preoccupation with dedicating heritage buildings to cultural use and equating heritage with the arts, although acceptable to the Ammani psyche, actually falls outside their everyday existence, relegating heritage buildings to reified but rarely-used objects.

Another observation on the process of revitalisation of the built heritage of Jabal Amman is the ruralisation of the representation of heritage; so for example, the project is conceived as a “vernacular city-village,” the merchandise is “handmade,” and the details of the urban and architectural rehabilitation are made “rustic” and rough. This could be partly due to the fact that although heritage in Jordan has long been associated with antiquities, projects of rehabilitation of heritage in rural settings in the nineties were the first step towards the rehabilitation of a past more relevant to Jordanians (Nagy & Abu-Dayyeh, 2002). It is also important to realise that, at least in the case of the rehabilitation of Jabal Amman and the establishment of JARA and its market, the people driving the process can be the same people who had successful rehabilitation projects in rural settings. For example, Zaid Goussous, one of the founders of JARA, had successfully established restaurants in the “heritage” settings of several rural areas in Jordan, and could be replicating his experience in the setting of Jabal Amman. The ruralisation of heritage could also indicate that the people of Amman have a problem with conceptualising the urban nature of heritage, in their mindsets heritage is linked to rural, and Bedouin life styles; according to our survey only 9% of Ammanis thought that the most attached people to heritage were the people of the city, while 34% considered it to be rural groups and 57% considered it to be the Bedouins.

Above all, it appears that global consumerism is the driving force that shapes the representation of heritage in the project. It appears that the global market of “heritage” have created certain expectations of what a place of heritage “should do” that the members of JARA are attempting to fulfil in Jabal Amman; and so, the functions to which the place is dedicated are artistic and cultural, although only a miniscule portion of the people of Amman perform cultural activities (4%); it is leisure oriented, although for a large proportion of the Ammanis leisure is an activity confined to the home, for example according to the survey 64% of the people of Amman do not eat in restaurants (ranging from rarely to never), 51% do not socialise outside the home, 89% do not gather outside the home to discuss public matters, although only 34% do not engage in leisurely walking in

the city. Even the flea market established in the Souk offers a modified version of second-hand markets to be found in the historical parts of other cities. It offers handmade ornaments, antiques of questionable origin, and naïve art. It clearly targets the higher-income groups, as the actual second-hand markets of al-Balad are only a few minutes walking away. The flea market of JARA offers an experience sanitised of the stigma associated with second-hand shopping in Amman⁵. Thus, projects such as the rehabilitation of Jabal Amman and JARA's street market, as noted by Nagy and Abu-Dayyeh in another context (2002) "combine architectural preservation and the merchandising of memories, making them part heritage site, part retail destination."

The subject of my critique in regard to the revitalisation of Jabal Amman and JARA street market is not the economical success of the project, but rather the socially exclusive, fragmented and sanitised representation of heritage constructed by the project and driven by needs of consumerism. Moreover, the current economical recession that drastically affected real estate markets throughout the world might seriously undermine the real-estate rationale of development projects in the area, as for example the proposal of a mixed-use masterplan for Jabal Amman has been postponed. At the end of the day, heritage revitalised for consumerist purposes can only remain lively as long as it is in demand.

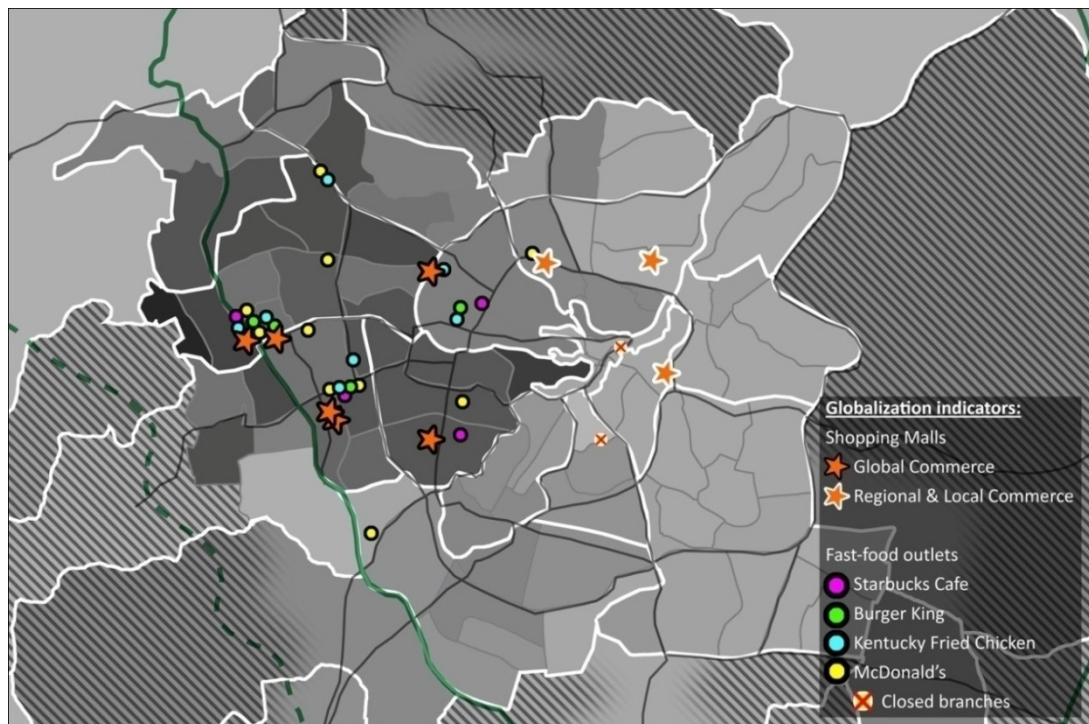


Figure 6-14: mapping the distribution of shopping malls and global chain food outlets in Amman. The mapping shows a concentration of these venues in West Amman, and their absence in the Eastern parts. Malls consisting of regional and local goods outlets however, do exist in East Amman, closer to al-Balad.

The demand for the consumption of global (and specifically Western) goods is also subject to forces of polarisation in Amman. In order to illustrate the difference in demand we

⁵This was repeatedly reported by the research team conducting the survey, as they encountered embarrassment and hesitation when they asked the respondents about second-hand shopping in al-Balad.

perform an exercise by mapping the presence and the absence of high-end Westernised markets represented by malls and global chain food outlets (such as Starbucks Café, McDonalds, Burger King and Kentucky Fried Chicken). Figure 6-14 illustrates the distribution of malls and global chain food outlets, whereby the mapping reveals the concentration of these venues in the rich Western parts of the city, and their absence in the poorer Eastern parts. Two branches of McDonalds that opened in Eastern Amman in the 90s and early 2000s were subsequently closed, partially due to the unsuitability of prices to local users, and partly due to the resistance by local communities to the culture of Americanisation in what Glaeser (2004) described as “the political economy of hatred.”

So far, the research has explored the position of al-Balad in relation to the process of decentralisation and the subsequent creep of the foci of power Westwards, and the processes of polarisation and gentrification, which in their totality contribute to the main research problem: the apparent contradiction between the significance of al-Balad in discourse and its insignificance in practice. It can be observed that al-Balad is subject to two conflicting pulling forces. One force is exerted by the processes of decentralisation and polarisation that pull al-Balad to a position of symbolically and functionally insignificant place, to become part of the poorer East Amman. The other force is exerted by the process of gentrification, real estate and heritage markets and pulls downtown to a position of significance and attempts to include it within the richer West Amman. In the context of this conflicting position, al-Balad finds itself on the “frontier of gentrification” with an undetermined future. However, a recent additional force to place al-Balad in a position of significance stems from the new Masterplan of Amman. This Masterplan aims at directing the growth of the city towards the East, in order to protect what is left of the agricultural land to the West of the city. This growth strategy would place al-Balad in the centre of the city again.

6.4. Deconstructing al-Balad: attributes of place in discourse

Al-Balad is one of the most multi-layered and complex spaces in the city. As a place and a concept it consists of several layers of attributes that hold the key of raising it to the status of city and nation-wide importance. These layers range from physical attributes manifesting in its topography and natural elements; to functional attributes manifesting in the basic everyday uses of al-Balad, such as its role as a market, a place of industry and services, and a hub of transportation; to more indirect and symbolic attributes that manifest in its role as a place of socialisation, leisure, memories and national symbolism. Some of the elements that comprise these attributes, such as the hills, emerge in history with the emergence of the place itself and persist in spite all of the historical changes; other attributes become obscured and fade out of public memory, as in the example of the Seil; and yet other attributes go through cycles of emergence and fading according to the unfolding of history.

Going back to the attributes derived from the topic analysis in newspaper articles (Chapter Two), I can add the attribute of al-Balad as a place of nature, as the hills, memories of the Seil and the green abundance of its banks are mentioned in literature and inspire urban development projects. And so, the attributes of al-Balad can be summarised as follows:



Figure 6-15: Memories of nature and water in al-Balad Amman; men swimming in the local lido, 1930s-1940s (Bakig, 1983).



Figure 6-16: Memories of nature and water in al-Balad Amman; a view of the rivulet running through an orchard in the Circassian village of Amman, c. 1900s (Bakig, 1983).

6.4.1. Al-Balad as a place of nature and eventful topography

The old city centre was originally the hub of settlement formation due to its natural advantages: the Seil - a seasonal rivulet, many fresh water springs, fertile plains, secure hills dotted with abundant caves and mild weather. The Seil was the centre point of the lives of people of Amman (Al Qasem, 1996) (Figures 6-15 & 16). Its flooding was the main concern during the winter, as it had the potential of threatening the buildings directly surrounding it. In summer though, it was an attraction point for people who would picnic around it and swim in it, in addition to its importance for the agriculture and watermills on the banks. In the masterplan of 1955, the proposed central park was to be developed on the banks of the Seil, which would serve as an extension of public space.

However, with the expansion of the city and the improvement of infrastructure, the Seil lost its intensity and was covered by a road in 1968, thus becoming part of the urban storm-water system. Before the covering of the Seil and its conversion into a commercial street, the land surrounding it was undesirable. After the conversion it turned into a busy street and the natural history was forgotten (Al Qasem, 1996). Over the years, the remaining parts of the dry bed of the Seil which had direct access to surrounding neighborhoods were built up, while those with no direct access fell into neglect. Today, the memory of the Seil serves as an inspiration for projects in the vicinity, and the whole four kilometre strip of dry bed extending from the Roman Theatre to the Hejaz Rail Station is considered for a real-estate development project as mentioned above (UrbanWorkshop, 2005).



Figure 6-17: The urban morphology of al-Balad. Pictures from left to right, top down: an overview of the former river bed, which is now the vicinity of the Roman theatre, Raghadan bus terminal and the Hashemite Plaza; Looking at al-Balad from Jabal Al-Jofeh; the minarets of Hussein Mosque can be seen from the surrounding hills; an alleyway leading to al-Balad from Jabal Amman; building masses in a residential neighborhood close to al-Balad painted in 'natural colors' according to a municipal initiative to beautify the city.

The topography surrounding al-Balad is eventful. The hills and wadis have always been important elements in the shaping of cities and villages that were built at the location of Amman. Citadel Hill - Jabal al-Qal'a, has been fortified and populated since Roman times, while the hill directly behind it has been dedicated to Royal Palaces since the 1920s. The wadis served as transportation routes since times immemorial. And today, the hilly topography provides for expansive views over the city, and for interesting urban morphology, which consists of intimate alleyways, winding staircases and vintage-points overlooking the valley. It is unique in the city in its humane character of the pre-modern urban fabric, which conforms to human scale and ratios, rich detail, individuality and adaptation to the environmental context is attractive to humans on a very basic level (Figure 6-17). It addresses basic human needs, as much as the context, technology and way of life at the time allows. The architecture, street, alley and stairways of the pre-modern age attract the modern man as they offer a contrasting alternative to the contemporary city, which is often criticised for being out of scale and synchronisation with human characteristics and alienating. The physical aspects of the old city fabric are appreciated per se, and are often cited as an inspiration for elements in contemporary urban development and architectural projects.

6.4.2. Al-Balad as a market and a place of industry and services

Al-Balad was the first and the central market and hub of business in Amman. All essential commercial functions such as: main bank branches, moneychangers, retail and wholesale business were located near the Hussein mosque until the beginning of the 1970s. The importance of this circumstance lays in the fact that, according to Biegel (1996), in 1986 about 70% of Jordanian labour force was engaged in tertiary and quaternary sector, which signifies that at least until mid-1980s al-Balad was the hub of much of Jordanian employment. With the outbreak of the Lebanese civil war in the 1970s and later the first Gulf war, Amman became a refuge for foreign banks and firms. They did not settle in al-Balad, but preferred the more modern areas to its west such as Shmeisani and Jabal Amman. Subsequently, al-Balad lost its importance as a financial centre (Biegel, 1996). The 1968 plan proposal to create "traffic magnets" outside the centre to relieve its congestion further dispersed investment through the city undermining the importance of al-Balad. Gradually and on par with the polarisation of the city, al-Balad became a dilapidating market, central only for the inhabitants of nearby areas, wholesale commerce, and speciality trade (such as gold, fabric and sewing necessities, spices and sweets, and bridal necessities), and the most visible sign of this dilapidation was the diminishing occupancy of building storeys above the ground floor.

In the examined newspapers, many of the articles point to the deterioration of al-Balad as a commercial centre. One article in particular "Al-Balad loses its commercial allure" (Al-Ghad, 2008) communicates the traders' longing for better days. Bibars quotes a fabric shop owner Abu Ra'ed saying:

"the demand in the past was higher... we weren't able to meet the demands of the customers... some shop-owners had to get police assistance to organise the customers... our customers queued in long queues starting at the entrance of Hamidiyyeh market and ending at the shop entrance... but the current situation for

all clothing shops in al-Balad is recession, and there are almost no customers in the shops for days or even weeks... the modest prices in the shops of al-Balad in relation to the city did not increase commercial activity... the interest of people is directed towards more expensive markets.” (Al-Ghad, 2008)

Abu Ra’ed notes that some shop owners did not manage to pay the rent and the bills for their shops, and attributes the deterioration to several reasons the main of which is the relocation of Raghadan terminal, which hindered the mobility of customers, the emergence of shopping centres in other areas, and lack of parking spaces. Another shop owner observes that “the shopping activity in al-Balad is very weak... and the recession the clothing shops are going through is the first of a kind.” This situation continues today as an article’s title suggests: “the setting of the sun of Hamidiyyeh market which longs to its visitors, after the relocation of public transport lines from al-Balad.” (Al-Rai, 2010)



Figure 6-18: some aspects of formal commerce in al-Balad. Reading left-right and top-down: the gold market, with a famous peanut seller sitting at the entrance; Sukkar market; one of the covered groceries markets; Yamaniyya market for clothing, with a tailor sitting in front of every shop for on-spot alterations; goods and signage spilling onto an alley of clothing shops; a mix of shops and stands on Faisal Street.

Despite this decline, a recent study of licenses issued for businesses by GAM in 2007 for 35 commercial streets in al-Balad (Table 6-1) shows that an increasing number of businesses acquire municipal licences every year (MEEM, 2006); although the number of issued licenses is by far not on par with the thriving markets elsewhere in Amman, this shows that al-Balad is not disappearing.

According to the study, al-Balad functions mainly as a hub of commerce, especially catering for retail trade, of which the most part goes towards the supply of tailoring materials and accessories, food supplies as well as other low-cost items of everyday consumption and components of simple manufacturing processes (Figure 6-18 also refer to Annex 8). Another important advantage of al-Balad is its role in regional wholesale trade, as it has numerous wholesale outlets for multitude of products. Businesses and professions seem to be distributed over the streets of the market, and although some streets emerge as a destination for a specific product (Basman St. for electrical appliances, Prince Mohammad St. for household accessories, Ibn Zuhr St. for second-hand clothing), they also consist of a mix of other retail types. Complete segregation of profession seems to be only the case with goldsmith shops which form a speciality market. Other speciality markets that are not reflected in this study but emerge in the pilot fieldwork are Sukkar and Vegetable markets for vegetables, meat and miscellaneous foodstuffs; Manko clothing market (Al-Ghad, 2004); the Yamaniyya market specialising in men's suits, which are tailored to size on spot; and the famous Italian street (Ibn Zuhr St., named after the Italian Hospital) which specialises in second-hand clothing. The reason that the existence of these markets is not reflected in municipal licensing is that the trade often occurs on the street and is thus licensed as temporary stalls, or that they are popularly known after the family name of famous merchants (such as Manko and Sukkar). There are also smaller well-known markets specialising in tailor supplies and miscellaneous beauty accessories and souvenirs, such as the Bukhariyyeh market (Al-Ghad, 2004) and Bisharat market (Al-Ghad, 2004). These speciality markets are favoured by the lower-middle class pedestrian residents of neighbouring areas, as they combine proximity, adequacy of price, multitude of choice and the possibility to bargain (interview with Batarseh, 2007), (interview with Rida, 2007).

Sector	Profession (No. of streets present on/ total No. of streets)	No. of shops	Most occurring location, Street (No. of shops)	%
Commerce	Retail	3,062		74%
	<i>Tailors' supplies (27/35)</i>	1,162 ⁵	King Talal (358), King Faisal (135), Basman (93), Quraish (88), Ibn Zuhr (77), Hashemi (69)	38%
	<i>Food supplies (29/35)</i>	385	King Talal (63), Quraish (46), Bath Bridge (38), Hashemi (36)	12%
	<i>Furniture and household accessories (25/35)</i>	303	Quraish (92), Prince Mohammad (42), King Talal (42), Ibn Zuhr (41), Hashemi (27)	9%
	<i>Gifts and toys (20/35)</i>	268	King Ghazi (58), King Faisal (36), Quraish (32), Shapsogh (30), Hashemi (27)	9%
	<i>Electrical appliances (19/35)</i>	255	Quraish (88), Basman (35), Hashemi (25), King Talal (18)	8%

⁵ In subcategories of professions only the most recurrent are mentioned, thus the sum of subcategory percentage will not add up to 100%.

	Import/export agencies (29/35)	340	King Talal (38), Shapsogh (36), Quraish (32), King Abdullah (28)	8%
	Storage/ Warehouses (22/35)	165	King Talal (32), Prince Mohammad (16), Hashemi (16), King Hussein (12)	4%
	Groceries (26/35)	123	King Talal (17), Quraish (15), Prince Mohammad (11), Rashid Madfa'ji (10)	3%
	Trading mediators (18/35)	95	Shapsogh (21), Basman (15), Prince Mohammad (12), King Faisal (8)	2%
Total	16	4,148		78%
Services	Restaurants and coffee houses (22/35)	144	Hashemi (33), King Talal (17), Prince Mohammad (15), Quraish (14)	21%
	Men's barbers (18/35)	74	King Talal (14), Shapsogh (11), Hashemi (8), Quraish (8)	11%
	Medical/ dental laboratories (14/35)	57	King Hussein (8), King Talal (8), Hashemi (8)	8%
Total	19	673		12%
Handicrafts	Tailoring (17/35)	124	Basman (30), King Talal (17), King Ghazi (13), Shapsogh (12), Hashemi (12)	31%
	Maintenance of electrical appliances (13/35)	73	Basman (17), Quraish (11), King Hussein (10)	18%
	Leather works	29	N/A	7%
Total	15	402		7%
Industry	Tailoring and tricot workshops (18/35)	98	Prince Mohammad (16), Quraish (16), King Talal (14), Basman (9)	54%
	Goldsmiths (4/35)	34	Shapsogh (13), King Hussein (11), King Ghazi (6), Ibn Zuhr (4)	19%
	Shoemakers	14	N/A	8%
Total	9	181		3%
Grand total	59	5,404		100%

Table 6-1: Divisions of sectors present in al-Balad markets, their subcategories, sizes and most occurring locations. The subcategories of sectors and professions are representative of the significantly recurrent ones only and thus do not add up to 100% (MEEM, 2006).

The trade in second-hand clothing is one of the most significant commercial activities in al-Balad, as it is one of the oldest and most extensive hubs of second-hand shops in the city, servicing the residents of surrounding areas as well as the whole city (Al-Ghad, 2006), (Al-Ghad, 2006). And although shopping from second hand shops used to be an activity of the poor, associated with the stigma of poverty, these days even the better-off hunt for a bargain, as much of the second-hand goods arrive from European markets, and include expensive designer pieces.

Some of the other specific trades mentioned in newspaper articles are connected to cultural products. For example the Afghani stores specialise in selling "oriental artefacts and antiques," and have operated in Jaffa since 1927 and in al-Balad in Amman since 1949 (Al-Ghad, 2004). The shop owner, a member of the Afghani family notes that "the love of his

family for antiques and interest in traditional handicrafts and archaeology is part of their psyche, and that they love this profession because it expresses the character of man and his heritage and civilisation,” he continues to say “if you don’t love this profession passionately you cannot succeed in it, as it is not a matter of buying and selling” (Al-Ghad, 2004). He also notes that the antique shops were limited in numbers in the beginning of the eighties and have recently noticeably increased in number to satisfy a rising demand. Oriental antiques are considered “to bring together authenticity and modernity and are contemporary to the age.” However, the size of trade has decreased lately because “most of the people consider oriental antiques luxury items and thus they are only bought by tourists and Jordanians living abroad.”

Another trade connected to cultural products that is mentioned frequently in the articles is book trade, and specifically small scale book trade. Two book shops are mentioned frequently in the articles are the “Culture Kiosk of Abu Ali” (Al-Rai, 2006), and the “Jahez Library” (Al-Ghad, 2008). Whereby the articles focus on the significance of these book shops to promotion of culture in society, which was recognised by a medal awarded to Abu Ali. However, the articles point as well to the fact that the size of the commercial activity is not what it used to be.



Figure 6-19: some aspects of informal commerce in al-Balad. Reading left-right and top-down: the Jora market on the dried river bed; the pigeon market taking place on a side street on Friday; the former Thieves market which now sells used hardware; and Friday second-hand clothing markets spreading on the streets of al-Balad.

In addition to the formal markets and shops, there are hubs of informal commerce to which GAM turns a blind eye (Figure 6-19). These are el-Jorah (literally meaning “the hole,” since it is held in a depression in the ground) which is a market for second-hand clothing and household items, the second-hand clothes market, and souvenir antiques stalls in the vicinity of the Roman theatre, as well as shops selling pirated DVDs (Jordan Times, 2005),

(Jordan Times , 2008). Some markets are held only on Fridays such as the pigeon market; while the trade in second-hand clothing peaks on Friday and spills over many streets in al-Balad. Some markets were famous for dealing in stolen goods such as the Thieves market, yet after stringent measures taken by authorities, it was converted to trade in hardware and building equipment. Other forms of criminal informal economy such as trade in drugs and prostitution were present at the Hashemite plaza and opposite the Jora Market, yet were forced to relocate by the upgrading project at Raghadan terminal and active police measures.

The distribution of formal and informal economies in al-Balad seems to follow the topography of the area and the polarisation of the city. While the formal commerce is the general norm for the market, the informal hubs tend to occur mostly in the area of the covered bed of the Seil – Quraish St., as much of this area was not properly developed and is less permeable. It is also the area that has a high level of pedestrian access to the poorer parts of the city, while the areas perpendicular to the Seil have a higher level of vehicular access to the richer parts of the city.

Al-Balad also caters for an active service economy. It has many hotels (there are ten just on the Hashemi street (MEEM, 2006)), which are cheap and central, thus appealing to a clientele of international backpackers and Arab tourists and immigrants. The restaurants and coffee houses cater mainly for people living nearby, or arriving to downtown for business or shopping.

Multiple tourist cafés have opened in the area, and some of the existing restaurants became magnets for Ammanis wanting to experience the cuisine of “the good old days,” or to exhibit a detailed knowledge of Amman. On several occasions the King and his family, and a number of ministers had breakfast and dinner at a simple and famous “hummous” restaurant in al-Balad; the newspaper headline following these events argued about how much closer this act brings them to the “common people” of Amman.

6.4.3. Al-Balad as a hub of public transport

Much of the vitality of al-Balad can be attributed to its role as a central traffic node, receiving pass-through traffic from some of the main highways of the city, as well as being a central hub of public transport. The transport converging at al-Balad area consists of several types: white taxi cars, which are a cheap communal public type of transport well suited for the hilly slopes; mini buses and regular buses; and yellow private taxis. The means of public transport that serve al-Balad consist of two categories: the first is the white taxis that park in downtown streets and serve areas within the city, while the second consists of all means of public transport that depart from the Raghadan Bus Terminal to national destinations as well as multiple destinations within the city. In their totality, the public transport, private vehicles, and pass-through traffic amounted to a stifling congestion that plagued al-Balad for many years. In April 2003 GAM initiated the construction of a new building at the location of Raghadan Bus Terminal (a project funded by a loan from Japan International Cooperation Agency JICA) in order to upgrade and regulate the public transport services. The public transport facilities were relocated two kilometres further to the north-east, to be brought back when the construction of the new terminal is completed. The relocation of the terminal caused a disruption of public transport, decrease of business in the market,



Figure 6-20: Archaeological sites in al-Balad; the Roman theater (Gagnon, 2010).



Figure 6-21: Archaeological sites in al-Balad; the Nymphaeum (Rozwadowski, 2010).



Figure 6-22: Archaeological sites in al-Balad; the Umayyad Palace on the Citadel Hill (Shawash, 2005).

and made it more difficult for people to access public transport. This project became the subject of much controversy, documented in newspapers. The articles communicated the complaints and the frustration of people affected, and the steps taken by GAM and Ministry of Transportation to address the problem. The Mayor defended the project considering it a first step in a series of projects GAM intends to implement in the city, especially in the centre, in order to create a renaissance (Al-Ra'i, 2007).

The project was completed in February 2007, and some transport routes were brought back to their former location, however, after conducting further research on the issue, a specially formed committee advised against the return of the terminal to the new building. The reasons cited for this decision were the congestion that would be caused by this return and the incapacity of the new terminal to contain all the transport and routes within its new configuration. Thus the terminal remains at its further location, and GAM is working on reconfiguring transport routes to facilitate the journey for public transport users who suffer from increased travel costs and duration.

6.4.4. Al-Balad as a place of archaeological and architectural heritage

As discussed above Jordan in general and Amman in particular witnessed the ebb and flow of numerous civilisations from pre-historic times. Downtown is rich with archaeology that testifies to these civilisations, and at the moment several Roman archaeological sites are restored or undergoing restoration (Figures 6-20 & 21).

Al-Balad is also a mélange of architecture of traditional and modern styles (Annex 9), which due to their relative novelty and the economical circumstances of formation, cannot compare in quality and consistency to the architectural and urban heritage of neighboring cities of Damascus, Cairo and even Salt. Due to haphazard and insensitive demolition and rebuilding, it is even less attractive than the residential neighbourhoods of Jabals Lwbedeh and Amman. Furthermore, its dilapidated state, the dirt and the overabundance of signage conceals most of its buildings. Yet, al-Balad contains many examples of Levantine commercial and residential architecture typical of the late 19th century, and has samples of architectural hybrids representing key moments in early modern Jordanian architectural heritage (Shawash, 2003) (Figure 6-23) not present in other cities of more important traditional architectural status, such as Salt.



Figure 6-23: Examples of well preserved architecture from the 1920s-1940s period. The example on the right is defaced with the application of a disproportionately large sign and a chimney.

6.4.5. Al-Balad as a place of leisure

Al-Balad can be construed as a place of leisure in several ways. There are the restaurants where people can enjoy traditional and inexpensive meals, cinemas, and public spaces where people can relax and play. All of these leisure functions used to be vital in the old Amman (Qassem, 1998), (Munif, 2006), even if gender and age segregation informed their use. Today however, the quality and quantity of users and use have dramatically changed. The restaurants are generally the domain of the poorer classes, serve traditional and inexpensive Arab food, with some restaurants specialising in certain Arab cuisines, such as the Iraqi, or certain dishes such as “karshat” (stuffed bovine stomach). The age of some of the restaurants testifies to their authenticity in newspaper articles such as “Fu’ad restaurant: sixty year did not change the taste of falafel!” (Al-Ghad, 2008) and “Hashem restaurant: authentic ambience did not change in 57 years” (Al-Ghad, 2008). Eating in these restaurants shows affinity with the poorer classes and appreciation of the traditional Jordanian cuisine. This has been picked up by the powerful elite who have meals in these restaurants to show solidarity with the people. For example the Royal family had breakfast in Ramadan of 2006 in Hashem restaurant, where the King was saluted for “social solidarity or connecting with the people” (Al-Ghad, 2006), and members of the Government had on occasion dined in the same restaurant in 2010 (Ammon News, 2010).

As for the cinemas, which used to be the hub of entertainment in the middle of the twentieth century, today they have lost their appeal and clientele to the new modern cinemas that spring up in the new commercial centres of Amman. The cinemas of al-Balad either closed, or provide films of dubious character to a specific clientele (young males); only one fortunate cinema – Cinema Versailles, has been rehabilitated to serve as a small scale theatre - Al-Balad Theatre (Masrah al-Balad) (Al-Rai, 2005). The public spaces of al-Balad are suffering too. The Hashemite Plaza, which is the largest open space in al-Balad and was conceptualised as “a public venue for community celebrations and a breathing space for the city,” was transformed into a place of bored young men (Al-Rai, 2004), dubious businesses, prostitution and pirated DVDs (Al-Rai, 2006) and is according to another article “drawing its final breaths” (Al-Ghad, 2004). Faisal street, which is “the first and main public plaza in the capital” (Al-Rai, 2005) is faring better, but is affected by the general recession of al-Balad. Consuming public space by being a flâneur in Boudelaire’s sense, which refers to a person who walks in the city in order to experience it, is mentioned frequently in articles that tell stories of personal people’s experiences in the place, and are often described as a form of leisure associated with memories and storytelling (Al-Rai, 2007), (Al-Rai, 2008).

However, as discussed above, public space has been given much attention in the projects proposed by GAM to take place in al-Balad and the surrounding areas. Projects such as Faisal Street, rehabilitation of the Roman theatre and Raghadan area and the Urban Strip, among others aim at providing open accessible space to the public.

Another dimension of leisure in al-Balad manifests in socialising, of people coming together to share their free time. Male-oriented socialising in al-Balad often takes place in the cafés. They have long been the meeting places of men coming together to play dice and cards, watch and listen to the news and music, discuss events, politics and culture as described in

novels and autobiographies such as “Story of a city” by Abdulrahman Munif (2006). Of the famous cafés were the Hamdan café, shown in (Figure 6-24), the Central café, and the Arab League café which is painted and described by the Jordanian artist Hani Alqam (2007):

“The coffee house holds everything that is true to me of mankind. It’s a place where there is no room for social pretension. There is a harsh rawness and at the same time a fragility that leaves all exposed... This wear and tear is evident by the indelible stains left from the constant flow of traffic of feet over many years. These stains are part of legacy that is important to the memory of all card players, coffee drinkers and many others, for we live in a time of change where in future years it may not be commercially viable to linger for hours nursing one cup of coffee.”(Alqam, 2007)

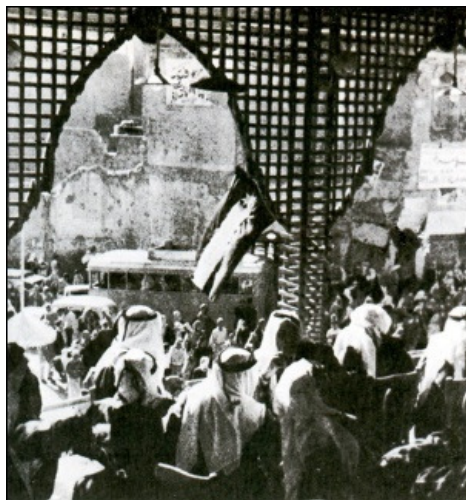


Figure 6-24: Men coming together for socializing and discussions at Café Hamdan, c. 1920s (Bakig, 1983).

The Arab League café was abandoned for a long time and finally demolished in 2008 to make place for a modern commercial building, an event that raised some protest and outcries among writers and architects. As Mifleh Al-Udwan laments: “there was a café, and its name was the Arab League! I wonder what turned it into archaeology after its long life. ... Every time I pass there I feel bitter.”(Al-Rai, 2008)

6.4.6. Al-Balad as a place of culture

Al-Balad has always held to an extent the status of a place of culture. Its cafés were the meeting place of cultured people, it had cinemas and bookshops that kept the Ammanis in touch with other worlds. Even today, al-Balad contains the biggest bookshops in Jordan, with a focus on Arab literature. In recent years some cafés such as “Jafra” opened with the specific theme of being miniature hubs of cultural activity, places for reciting poetry and the coming together of artists and appreciators of art. These cafés aim at “developing al-Balad to bring it back to “the way it was” since it was the first destination of the Jordanian family.” The cafés are decorated in heritage themes and present traditional food. One of their advantages, in addition to providing informal space for cultural activities, is bringing the “female element” into the male-biased downtown cafés (Al-Rai, 2010).

GAM has also shown a great interest in promoting al-Balad as a place of culture, through supporting and organising musical concerts in the vicinity of the Roman Theatre and the Citadel, street-art festivals in the streets of al-Balad (Al-Rai, 2006), and in cooperation with

the Ministry of Tourism, an annual Amman Summer Festival that incorporates al-Balad as part of the city (Al-Rai, 2006).

6.4.7. Al-Balad as a place social history

Some of the families that used to occupy the buildings of the old city centre still have a very strong emotional attachment to the place. Memories of lives spent at the place are still cherished by the old generation. These memories revolve around strong family relations, better quality of life, events happening in the old centre, gatherings in old cafés, social happenings and the everyday life of the market; events that are not replicated in the modern life and society. The arrival of modernity and associated values undermined the appreciation of the old way of life. It was deemed unimportant and regressive, and this attitude was the biggest cause in the creation of a gap in the continuity of the constitution of significance among generations. At the present time the question of the importance of heritage is raised again in the whole of the Greater Syria, and some families, namely notable families are keen to “rehabilitate their cultural heritage” (Daher, 2004). This is achieved through the rehabilitation and conversion of historic residences and estates into venues whose functions are attractive to the public: restaurants, museums, cultural centres and art galleries. The overall logic behind this could be that heritage is a collective concept; when one possesses a piece of heritage, it is not deemed significant unless it’s shared and appreciated by all. Because the appreciation of heritage requires knowledge of history and appreciation of high culture, it is often linked with social status and intelligentsia. It becomes a social symbol, and is used by the “patrons” to “reclaim their position” within the society (Daher, 2004).

6.4.8. Al-Balad as symbol of the State and as a symbol of the Nation

The most socially important symbolic aspect of al-Balad, and in fact the one that makes it a unique place on a national level, is its role in the creation of the new Nation and a new State. Although the concepts of Nation and State oftentimes overlap, there are moments in history when they stand in opposition to each other, when the “nation” can be defined as “the people,” and the “state” can be defined as the government. In Jordan, as discussed in Chapter Five on Jordanian identities, Hashemite history, Arab nationalism and religion are symbolically intertwined with the concept of the Jordanian nation and the historical narrative of the State. Thus the State can be represented by physical landmarks such as the Royal residence (*diwan*), government institutions, military headquarters, and the State mosque (which remained until the 1990s the *Husseini* mosque), all located in al-Balad (Figure 6-25). Al-Balad was also the place for exhibition of State power in processions, parades and celebrations (Figure 6-9). The symbols discussed so far represent the State and directed at the Nation; however there are other symbols that represent the nation and are directed at the nation. These symbols were incorporated in the first masterplans for Amman in the form of the national assembly, national museums, stadiums and theatres as well as open public space.

Public space in specific serves in creation of symbolism directed by the Nation at the State, thus destabilising the top down power relationship of State-Nation. By virtue of its configuration, function, location, history and symbolism, downtown Amman can be regarded as a public space. The concept of public space is multifaceted; the term “public”

itself refers to an assembly of people or a crowd, while the term “public space” can be regarded as the “urban space of enactment of the public sphere,” whereas “public sphere” is understood as defined by Habermas as “a realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed” (Habermas, 1962). In this sense public sphere and the state confront one another as opponents, as it forms a platform for non-governmental opinion making (Habermas, Lennox, & Lennox, 1974). This definition confirms the long-standing description of public space as the spatialising of popular democratic discourse. Al-Balad had a history of fulfilling this function both in terms of offering platform for protest for the masses on the streets and a platform of rational debate made possible by the development of the bourgeois culture in its coffeehouses and elite salons. Al-Balad still serves as an occasional space for the expression of the masses, for example for the period surveyed by this research, in 2005 al-Balad witnessed a demonstration of hundreds of thousands in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks on three hotels in Amman with the purpose of “denouncing terrorism and confirming loyalty to the homeland” (Al-Ghad, 2005), the demonstration was joined by the Mayor and several ministers and was launched from the Hussein Mosque. Other demonstrations organised in 2006 protested parliamentary voting legislations (Al-Ghad, 2006); the Israeli crimes against the Palestinian people in the massacre of Beit Hanoun (Al-Ghad, 2006) and again in 2007 for the continuing Israeli oppression of the Palestinian people (Al-Ghad, 2007) and in 2008 for the Israeli massacres in Ghaza (Al-Ghad, 2008).



Figure 6-25: Rows of prayers spilling out on the front yard of the Hussein mosque and the sidewalks on performing their Friday prayer. (Shawash, 2005)

In al-Balad, demonstrations most often launch from the vicinity of the Hussein mosque, the first and former symbol of Religious identity of the nation. However, many more demonstrations are organised around other power symbols in the city such as the headquarters of the Professional Associations Complex (the equivalent of professional unions), the Parliament, and occasionally the Israeli Embassy. For a demonstration to be carried out, the organisers need to get an approval from the Ministry of Interior⁶, otherwise it could be deemed as acting against “national unity.” This can be illustrated by a demonstration that took place in front of the Israeli embassy in January 2009, whereby several reporters and numerous demonstrators got assaulted by the police. Barhoumih (2009), one of the assaulted reporters wonders why the defenseless demonstrators were

⁶Upon inquiry, the information on demonstrations held by the Ministry of Interior is considered classified. In the beginning of 2011 and in the wake of the Arab Spring revolutions, the need to secure “approval” in this law has been amended to “notification.”

savagely beaten, and why there was an absence of members of the opposition. But most importantly he mentions that the previous week, there was an organised and approved demonstration that was launched from several mosques and ended in the demonstrators congregating in a sports stadium. There were also demonstrations in the city centre and other residential districts in the city all “away from the embassy and its problems.”

And so, although al-Balad holds memories and old symbols of political expression, it has lost its significance as a place of public sphere. As we discuss above, the symbols of power have crept away from al-Balad, leaving behind symbolism dependent only on memories. In this regard, al-Balad can be seen as politically unproblematic and distanced from the reality of the city as a sports stadium. As for expressions on a more intimate level, in the spirit of the political and cultural salons that took place in the cafés and in the lobbies of the old hotel Philadelphia, that the Amman is reminiscing about (Malkawi M. , 2008)(Al-Raqqad, 2008); as is discussed in the Chapter Six, these expressions are limited and monitored closely by the State, despite an apparent nostalgia to “those good times,” the expression taking place in the cafés of al-Balad is mostly of consumerist nature. Good times are still had by all, but away from the problematic issues of politics and away from conflict.

Until now, in this chapter we attempted to provide a comprehensive definition of al-Balad. We traced its rich history and archaeology, as well as its modern development as a subject of municipal planning and active urban dynamics. An analysis of newspaper topics allowed us to broaden the definition of al-Balad’s attributes, which range from the physical to the functional to the symbolic. What emerges is an image of a place that is very significant and very complex; it is a place of multiple layers of attributes, making it at the same time a market, a hub of transportation, a place of nature, memory, social congregation, leisure and imagination.

However, this image of al-Balad is not complete; the weight of the attributes of al-Balad in the press is not necessarily representative of their weight in the reality of everyday life of the people of Amman; in the press, the topics discussing cultural events and tourism have almost the same weight of representation as topics discussing commerce, and transportation (17%, 16%, 13% of examined articles respectively), but how “real” are these numbers? And could the difference in weight of attributes between the dominant discourse and the real practice of all of Ammanis be another source of the dissonance? To answer these questions I examine al-Balad as a place in the imagination and the everyday life of the people of Amman as a result of the analysis of the survey findings.

6.5. Al-Balad in the imagination and practice of the everyday life of the people of Amman

In the survey conducted in this research a number of questions was posed⁷ to examine the relationship people have with al-Balad and the city in their practice and in their perceptions. The findings indicate that the majority of the people of Amman (91%⁸) have been to al-Balad at least once in their lives. However, the frequency of and the number of people going to al-Balad is diminishing. Out of the percentage above, 61% have been to al-

⁷ Refer to the questions in Annex 2.

⁸ The figures are rounded to nearest integer.

Balad more frequently in previous years⁹ and the percentage of people who go there frequently nowadays (from daily to several times a month) has been reduced from 49% to 20%. Overall, 48% of the people of Amman don't go to al-Balad at the present time (ranging from rarely to not at all in 2009, to never) (Figure 6-26). When analysing the visits controlled for gender and age, a correlation emerged for the former but not the latter, as males appear to visit al-Balad considerably more frequently than females. The area where the respondent resides also appears to have a meaningful correlation with the frequency of visiting al-Balad, however it is not the proximity of the area per se that is significant, as the data shows that only residents of northern adjacent areas of Basman and al-Nasser visit al-Balad significantly more frequently than the average, as well as the residents of al-Jbeiha (numbered 2, 3 and 13 respectively on Figure 6-11).

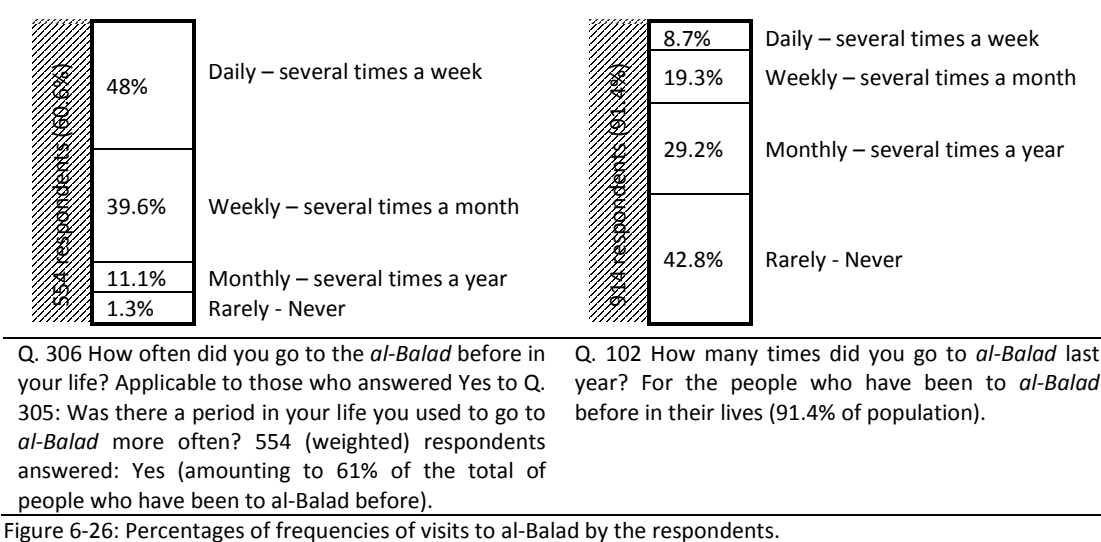


Figure 6-26: Percentages of frequencies of visits to al-Balad by the respondents.

The data shows that about 50% of the population finds al-Balad a desirable place to go (ranging from liking it to liking it very much), this attitude is not linked to gender and only weakly linked to place of residence (with inconclusive results), but an association was established with age, whereby the elderly (75 and older, amounting to 1.5% of population) find al-Balad a very desirable place to go to (ranging from I like to I like very much) (Figure 6-27), a finding that can be linked to their memories and experiences in the place; the youth (15-29, amounting to 40% of population), on the other hand, rate higher than average in moderately liking it (ranging from somewhat liking it to liking it a little), which can be linked to the rising status of al-Balad as a place of cultural events, leisure and social meetings.

⁹ Whereby males went to al-Balad more frequently on a daily basis, while the females on weekly to monthly basis (a correlation between previous frequency of visits and gender has been observed at Cramer's V value of (0.276).

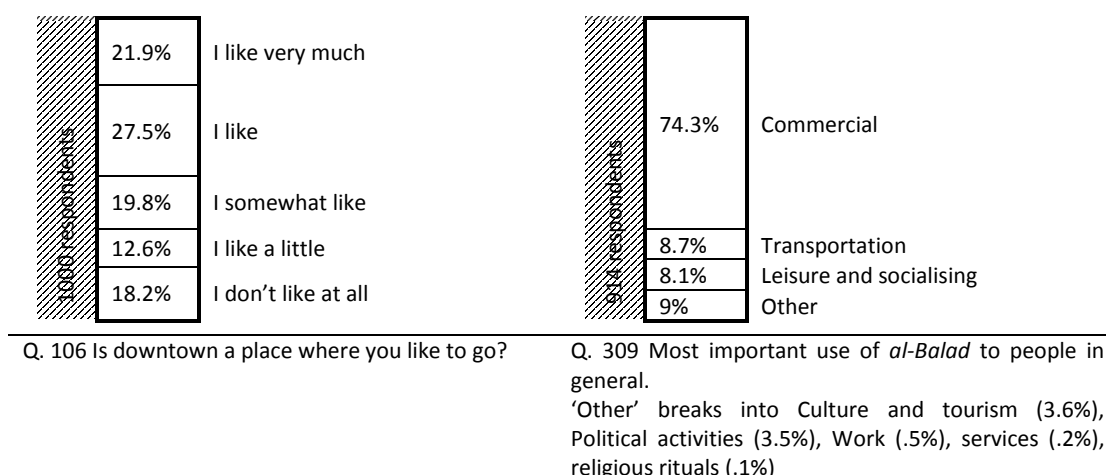


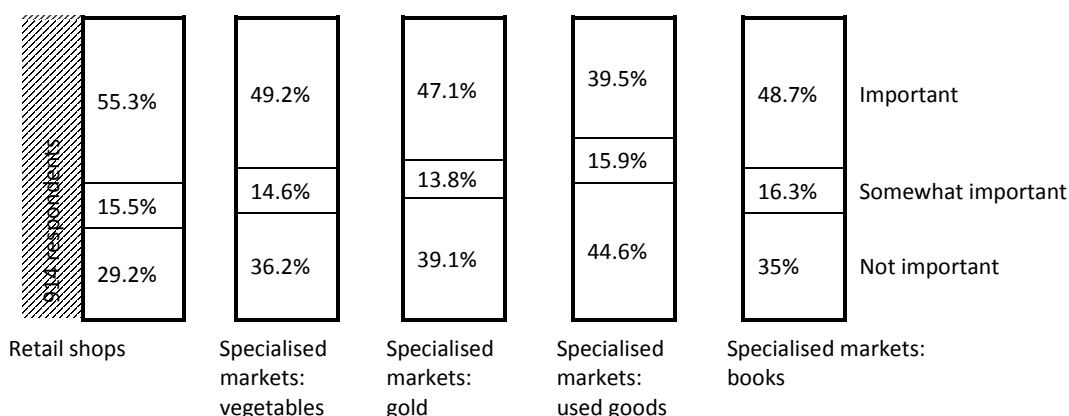
Figure 6-27: Percentages of responses regarding the desirability to visit al-Balad, and the most important use the respondents associate with the place.

Finding al-Balad a desirable place could also be a learnt perception, as an association was established with travel frequency, whereby the most frequent travellers (travelling monthly to several times a month, amounting to 3.3% of population) ranked higher than average in “strongly liking” going to al-Balad, it could be assumed that these travellers, the majority of whom travel to neighbouring Arab countries (74%), have observed this attitude in other cities. However, we also cannot overlook the fact that 18% of population find going to al-Balad categorically undesirable, which can be explained by its declining status in the city and association with poverty, congestion, petty crime and filth among other urban problems.

In terms of use, the majority of population identify al-Balad as a market, as 74% of respondents thought its commercial function is its most important use. Considering al-Balad as a place of primarily transportation or leisure were of similar weight at 8.7% and 8.1% respectively. Considering al-Balad as primarily a place of culture and tourism was a perception of a minority of 3.6% (Figure 6-27).

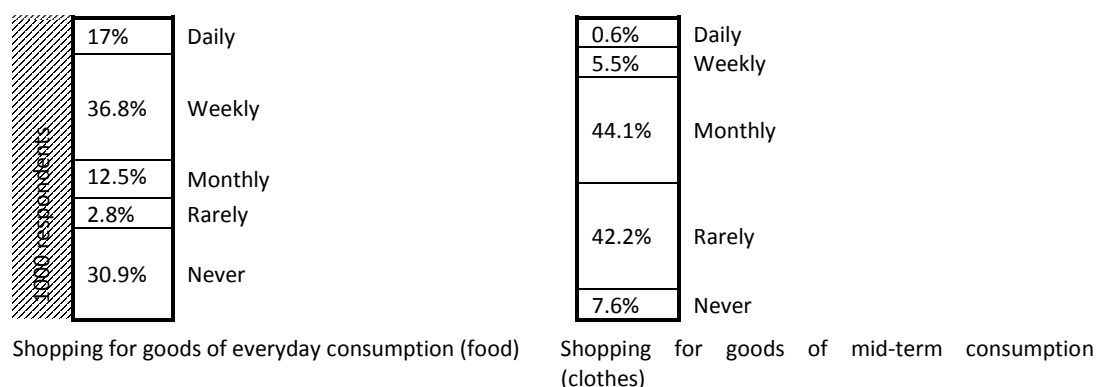
The public opinion was further examined regarding the commercial aspects of al-Balad in more detail, asking the respondents how significant they found the following specialisations, which emerged as primary topics in the contextual analysis: retail shops for food and clothing, specialised markets for vegetables, jewellery and gold, used goods, books and crafts and services (such as printing and tailoring) (Figure 6-28). Overall, about half the population (ranging from 44% to 55%) thought that these markets are important to their daily lives. Among these specialisations, declared significance of one of the most important trades of al-Balad - used goods was lower at 40%, which revealed a degree of social stigma associated with second-hand shopping, also evident from the discomfort several respondents expressed in answering this question noted by the surveyors. However, a perception of significance does not necessarily indicate intensity of use. In the questionnaire we focused on two specific aspects of shopping: shopping for items of daily consumption such as food, and shopping for items of intermediate consumption such as clothing. For items of daily consumption – food, about 54% of the population shops daily to weekly, and al-Balad represents the primary place for this type of shopping only for 8% of

respondents (Figure 6-29). For items of intermediate consumption – clothing, most people shop monthly (44%), or rarely (42%), and al-Balad represents the primary place for this type of shopping for about 11% of respondents.



Q. 304 How significant are the following aspects of shopping in *al-Balad* are in your life?

Figure 6-28: Percentages of responses regarding the significance of shopping for variable types of goods in al-Balad.



Q.401 Frequency of shopping for items of everyday and mid-term consumption

Figure 6-29: Percentages of frequencies of shopping for goods of everyday and mod-term consumption.

The difference between perception of significance and the translation of this perception in the practice of everyday life emerged to different extents in other uses of al-Balad as well, such as transportation (Figure 6-30), cultural activities, socialising, prayer and expressing public opinion (Figure 6-31). For example, 67% of the respondents thought that al-Balad was an important hub of public transport when Raghadan terminal was in use, and although 35% of the population uses public transport (consisting of buses and shared service taxis) in their daily lives, 45% of the people who have ever been to al-Balad use public transport to get there, against 38% who use their private cars.

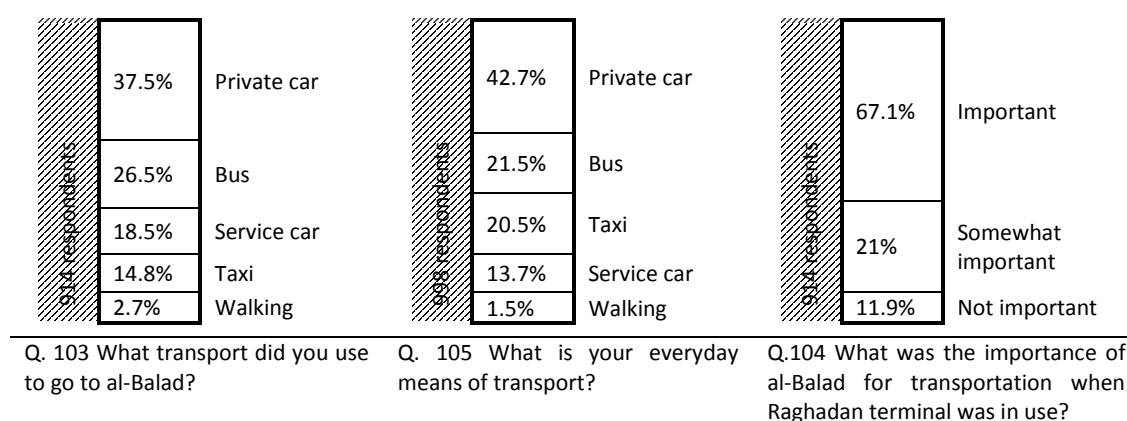


Figure 6-30: Percentages of frequencies regarding details of transportation practices and the importance of al-Balad as a hub of transportation.

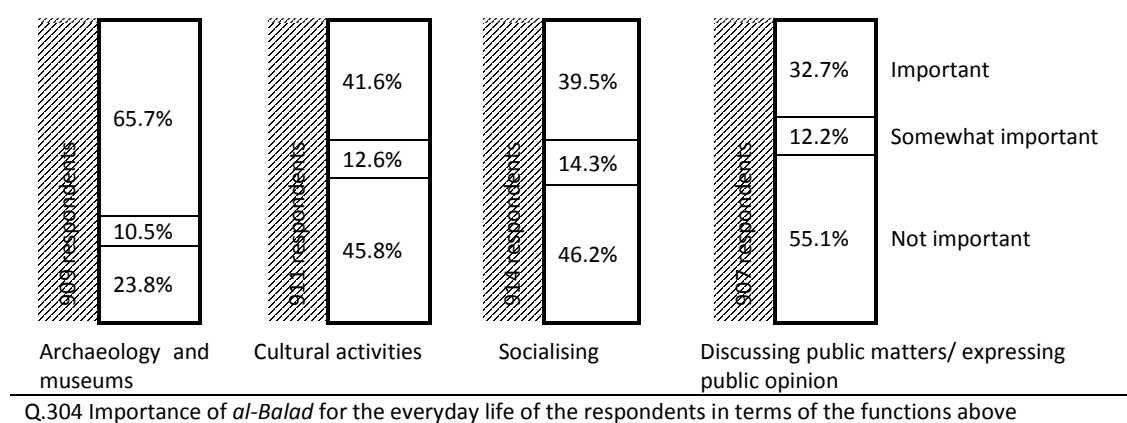


Figure 6-31: Percentages of frequencies regarding the importance of al-Balad as a place of archaeology, cultural activities, socialising and expressing public opinion.

In terms of the cultural use of al-Balad, 42% of the respondents said that al-Balad was important to their daily lives as a place of cultural activities (attending musical performances, theatre, art galleries), however 90% of population never attends them (6% attends them rarely, and only 2.2% on a monthly basis), and for the minority that does attend cultural activities, only 1.5% does so in al-Balad.

As for socialising, or meeting friends, 40% of respondents revealed that al-Balad is an important place for this purpose, and 49% of the population do socialise on a daily to monthly basis, however, when asked to reveal their primary location of socialisation, only 5.6% thought it was al-Balad (of these people 71% are males and 55% aged 15-29). In the findings no specific dominant place of socialisation emerged outside the home and it is interesting to see that 33% of population revealed they do not socialise, which can be understood to mean outside the family, as the average family size of the respondents was 5.5 persons, and 25% of population revealed that they choose their friends primarily from the extended family.

As for discussing public matters including politics, 33% of the population thought al-Balad was an important place for this practice in their everyday life (Figure 6-32). However, a large gap is revealed in comparison with practice, as 85% of population state they never

discuss public matters, and of the people who reveal that they do, 9% practices it at home. And as for prayer and religious rituals, 57% of the population thought al-Balad is important to themselves as a place of collective prayer, however only 21% of population actually prays collectively. Of these persons 70% do pray in a mosque, but did not specify a particular one.

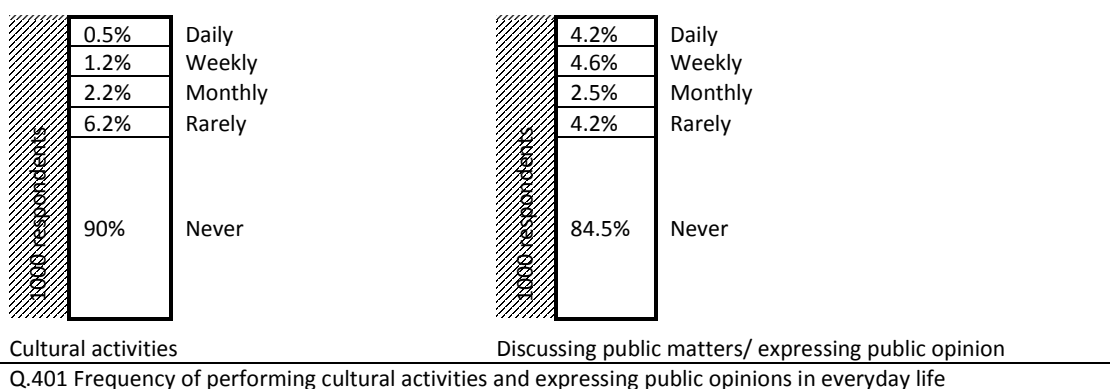


Figure 6-32: Percentages of frequencies for the performance of cultural activities and expressing public opinions in everyday life.

In the absence of a comparative analysis of the perception and practice of uses of other places in other cities, and taking into consideration that they are measured by different measures, it is difficult to conclude whether the emergent gap is abnormal. However, the usefulness of this analysis is revealed in some of its implications: above all, it is important to keep in mind that there is a gap between the significance of a place in perception and its significance in practice, and it is interesting to note that even the people who do not use al-Balad in practice still perceive it as important for themselves, which could indicate that this perception is learnt from other people, and it is a social belief independent of practice. It is also interesting to note that the main use of al-Balad was perceived by population as the commercial use, as a market, in spite the fact that it is used as a primary market only by a minority (8-10%) of the population. Al-Balad's role as a hub of transport is seen as important by a majority, but it is not seen as the most important character of place; however the percentages of people who use public transport and use it in al-Balad indicates the importance of this aspect to the life of Amman. Large gaps appear between the significance and practice of cultural activities, socialisation, and discussing public matters. It appears that the people of Amman attribute cultural activities with disproportionately more symbolic significance that reflected in practice. As for socialisation and discussion of public matters – both functions of the public realm, and attributes of public space – it appears that these practices are performed in the home, whereby the private space incorporates the public in a controlled manner. For the practice of socialisation, the percentage of people socialising in the home indicates the strength of family relations, while for discussion of public matters the numbers indicates the unease at which people of Amman admit to participating in public discussions and in politics. It is also important to keep in mind that although the majority of the population have been to al-Balad and that half the population finds it a desirable place to go, and about half find its uses and attributes significant, there is the other half that finds the place undesirable, and find its uses insignificant in their lives (the average of 37% for commercial uses, 32% for transport, 46% for cultural activities and for socialising, and 55% for public expression).

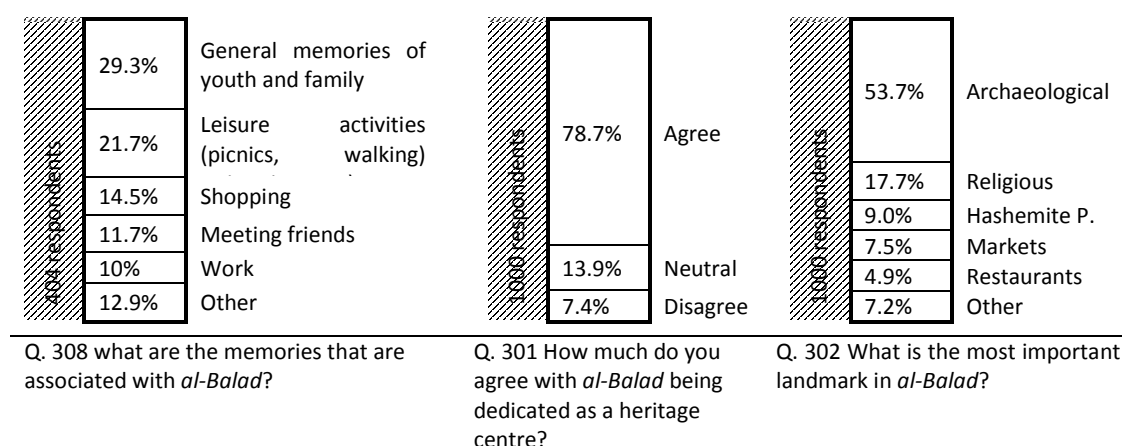


Figure 6-33: Percentages of frequencies regarding the topic of memories associated with al-Balad, agreement with its dedication as a place of heritage and observation of its most important heritage landmark

Focusing on al-Balad as a place of heritage, history and memories, it can be observed that 40% of the population do have memories related to al-Balad (Figure 6-33). Having memories correlates with both gender and age, as more males have memories than females, and more members of older groups than average have memories than the younger groups. As for the content of the memories, the most popular is one of “youth and family” at 29%, followed by memories of “leisure activities such as picnics, strolling and swimming” at 22%, “shopping (for nice things)” at 15%, and “meeting friends” at 12%. These memories are also correlated with gender and age. In the case of gender, the females are more inclined to have memories associated with shopping, and males to have memories of meeting friends. As for age groups, al-Balad is more associated with memories of leisure activities and meeting friends for the youngest groups¹⁰ and more associated with memories of youth and family and memories of shopping for older groups (and vice versa). Another correlation¹¹ was found between having memories of al-Balad and the desirability of place; having memories is associated with a significant increase above the average in desirability of place, independently of the content of memory among the most popular ones mentioned above.

As for the status of al-Balad as a place of heritage, the majority (79%) of population agrees with this dedication, and 66% of population finds that al-Balad is important to their everyday lives as a place of archaeology and museums. Agreement with dedication of al-Balad is correlated¹² with how much the respondent finds it desirable, and the respondents who liked the place the most agreed more frequently than average with its dedication. However, this did not prevent 73% of the people who dislike al-Balad (130 persons) to agree with the dedication too. Furthermore, 54% of respondents identified the most important heritage landmark as archaeological, followed by religious at 18%; markets were considered heritage landmarks only by 8% or the respondents. As individual heritage landmarks, the most popular are identified as the Roman theatre at 47%, the Hussein mosque at 18%, followed by the Hashemite plaza, the biggest open public place in al-Balad, at 9%. These findings do not correlate with either gender or age.

¹⁰ For groups of ages 15-29, 30-44, 45-59 and 60-74.

¹¹ Cramer’s V value of (0.234). Only correlations whose values are not indicated in the correlations Matrix in Annex 5 are mentioned in the footnotes.

¹² Cramer’s V value of (0.092).

The findings above reveal the discrepancies that lead to the problem of research: the contradiction between the condition of al-Balad in discourse and its condition in reality. But in order to highlight the exact moments of contradictions and link them to the process of construction of meaning and the role the conceptualisation of heritage plays in the problem, the attributes of al-Balad should be analysed by the application of the semiotic model based on Barthes' framework of the myth, synthesised with the concept of four levels of value by Baudrillard and the concept of abstract space by Lefebvre.

6.6. Locating the contradictions in the process of meaning construction for al-Balad as a place of heritage

6.6.1. Applying the semiotic framework to the attributes of al-Balad

Using the semiotic framework developed in Chapter Three and in reference to Figure 3-5, the attributes of al-Balad can be explored in regard to their contribution to the meaning of the place to the people of Amman with the purpose of locating contradictions in this process.

The meaning attached to al-Balad changed and developed through its history, and for the analysis of this development two points in time are taken. For the first (denotative or lived) level, the temporal context is al-Balad through the 1920s to the 1950s, before it began to lose its urban significance. For the second level of meaning (the connotative or the abstracted) the temporal context is the time of this research and its fieldwork, namely the period 2004-2010.

For the first level of the framework it can be argued that the space of al-Balad was lived, it was meaningful to the people of Amman, and the significance of place in discourse was parallel to its significance in practice, which reflected on its becoming the centre of Amman geographically, socially and economically as can be observed in its history. Applying the semiotic framework to the attributes of al-Balad, it can be argued that the physical attributes of al-Balad, such as "nature and eventful topography," and the architectural and urban fabric that later developed into "archaeological and architectural heritage" constitute the "signifier" or the "form" or "channel"¹³ that has to be coded with meaning. The four levels of the "signified" in this case can be formulated as such:

1. Use value: is related to al-Balad's functional attributes of being "a market and a place of industry and services," in addition to its being "a hub of public transport."
2. Exchange value: this value represents the most significant economical framework to which al-Balad contributes, which in this case is the real-estate market and commerce.
3. Symbolic value: at this time and level of meaning the symbolism of al-Balad as a place of power for the State, the Nation, religion and commerce.
4. Sign/myth value: the sign value in this period was what would appear to an observer today as straightforward, for it is naturalised or denoted. This value is its being as a "market," a "city centre" and its most important place.

¹³ According to Jakobson's components of the communication process.

Sign: Al-Balad as The Market (al-Souq)	
Signified:	Signifier:
1.1. Use value: commercial, industrial, services, transportation 1.2. Exchange value: real estate & commerce 1.3. Symbolic value: place of power for the State, religious and economic spheres, as well as popular political expression 1.4. Myth value: The market, the city centre, the most important place in the city	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Nature and eventful topography” • Architectural and urban fabric

Figure 6-34: The denotative level of meaning construction of al-Balad (temporally contextualised in the period 1920s-1950s).

This is not to say that in this period al-Balad did not function as a place of socialising, leisure or culture, but that there was little emphasis on these points. Al-Balad was viewed as a lively place of the present, and the past did not entail great significance as can be noted from the “Basilica incident” that took place between Emir Abdullah and the British representative in 1924.

As for the second level of the semiotic framework, the values attached to the signified can be deduced from the topic analysis of newspapers performed in Chapter Two. The attributes emerge from the analysis to have the following relative significance:

Attribute	Percentage of attention dedicated to the topic
<i>al-Balad</i> as a place of culture, encompassing cultural activities and tourism, festivals, art galleries and bookshops, the meeting of cultured people, archaeology, heritage and museums	20%
<i>al-Balad</i> as a market, including commerce (both formal and informal), industries, crafts and services	18%
<i>al-Balad</i> as a hub of transportation, encompassing issues relevant to traffic and roads	13%
<i>al-Balad</i> as a place social history and memories	9%
<i>al-Balad</i> as a place of leisure, encompassing activities that allow people to relax and play, such as visiting restaurants, cafés, cinemas, strolling in the streets and enjoying public spaces	8%
<i>al-Balad</i> as a place of demonstrations and political expression	7%

Table 6-2: Attributes of al-Balad and their relative weights as emerged from the newspaper topic analysis as discussed in Chapter Two.

It is evident that the status of al-Balad as a place of culture is emphasised as an attribute, and while the attributes of its being a market and a hub of transportation remain relatively significant, it is also perceived as a place of leisure, social history and memories, as well as political expression. Other attributes which emerged in the survey but were not directly relevant (such as the issue of poverty and presence of immigrants) or did not incur mentionable frequencies (such as the topic of religious practices which incurred only 2%) were dropped from the analysis.

For the semiotic analysis of the second level the “signifier” is the “sign” denoted in the first level, which is “al-Balad as The Market,” and which incorporates the aspects of commerce,

services and transportation linked to its “market-ness.” The “signified” in this case has transformed through time as follows (Figure 6-35):

1. Use value: as can be observed from the attributes derived from the topic analysis, the function of al-Balad, outside the naturalised attribute of being a market, is strongly linked to its cultural status as a place of socialising, cultural activities, history and museums.
2. Exchange value: the economic strength of al-Balad in this reasoning puts emphasis on the consumption of culture, leisure activities and the arts for the local consumer and for the tourism. In fact tourism is viewed as the driver for the regeneration of the place and its inclusion in upgrading projects.
3. Symbolic value: the symbolic significance of al-Balad is conflicting. After having been the symbol of power for decades, this focus crept geographically westwards as explained above. Al-Balad today is seen mostly as a place of the past. A place of history and memories.
4. Sign/myth value: the sign, or the myth that results from this buildup of values is one of al-Balad as a place of heritage.

Sign: Al-Balad as a place of heritage	
Signified:	Signifier:
2.1. Use value: commerce, culture and leisure	Al-Balad as “The Market”
2.2. Exchange value: tourism, culture and leisure services	
2.3. Symbolic value: conflicting	
2.4. Myth value: place of heritage	

Figure 6-35: The connotative level of meaning construction of al-Balad (temporally contextualised in the period 2005-2010).

According to the analysis of attributes on both levels of signification, it appears that al-Balad is transformed from a construct where the emphasis is on its function as a market, to an emphasis on its signification as a place of the past and heritage. On the first level of signification the coding is simple, and the decoding is accessible through direct use of place, or through interaction with its users. The relationship between the consumer and al-Balad is immediate in temporal and geographical levels: one has to be there to consume it. The relationship between the consumer and al-Balad on the level of the myth is more complex, the meaning of place has to be made into a legacy, into heritage, new codes come into action; codes that the users of the denotative level are not necessarily familiar with. And the relationship between the consumer of al-Balad as a place of heritage and the place itself is not direct either. The consumer may have never been to the place, but still decode it as his or her legacy. The geographical and temporal distances between the consumer and place are not the only forms of disembedded-ment that occur. The production of meaning is distanced from the consumer; one no longer has a direct input into the process, and the access to the process of encoding meaning is limited. Al-Balad as a space of heritage, in theory, is subject to mean less to consumers.

The whole concept of the semiotic framework of the myth is aimed at revealing the contradictions in meaning constructions and the manipulation of meaning for the benefit of

the powerful groups. And so, by historically deconstructing the attributes and locating them in their respective positions in relation to the process of meaning construction, the framework suggests that the meanings located on the second level of signification hold arbitrary meaning, that they are not as meaningful to the people of Amman, and that there is a specific motive to benefit the powerful groups in Jordan. The framework suggests that constructing al-Balad as a place of heritage renders it an abstract space in Lefebvre's sense, one in which the construction of meaning is independent of the productive processes in that space, and that the consumption of the meaning of this space is not necessarily performed in the space itself. The meaning is disembedded from space, and develops an abstract existence. However, due to the intrinsic contradictions latent in the abstract space, this framework for meaning will eventually lead to its own dissolution, and thus it is not sustainable. The next step is to explore if these contradictions reflect the reality that is described by survey findings. If the values of the signified on the second level of signification can be assumed to be produced by the powerful meaning creators in society (the media which is policed by the State) it is important to understand how these values are perceived by the society itself.

6.6.2. Locating the contradictions in coding al-Balad as a place of heritage

The analysis begins by comparing the weight of the primary attributes of al-Balad as deduced from the media with the weight of the attributes as perceived by the population, and in turn with the actual percentage of people who practice this attribute on a regular to semi-regular (daily to monthly) basis can give some perspective on the relative magnitude of the attribute; despite the different units and measures that apply to each category.

Attribute:	Attention dedicated to attribute in the media	Percentage of opinion about the prime attribute of al-Balad in the survey	Percentage of population who practice the attribute generally on Daily to Monthly basis
Al-Balad as a place of:			
<i>Place</i>	<i>al-Balad</i>	<i>al-Balad</i>	<i>Amman in general</i>
<i>Measurement</i>	<i>% of articles</i>	<i>% of opinion that view this attribute as the most important</i>	<i>% of people who perform this attribute regularly to semi-regularly</i>
Cultural events and tourism	20%	3.6%	3.9%
Commerce	17%	74.3%	8-11% ¹⁴
Transportation	13%	8.7%	45% ¹⁵
Political expression/ demonstrations	7%	3.5%	11.3%

Table 6-3: Comparison of al-Balad's relevant attributes in terms of their representation in the media, their significance to population, and the size of population that performs these attributes.

It can be observed from Table 6-3 that in the media the attributes of al-Balad as a place of cultural events and tourism, commerce, and of transportation rank the highest in terms of frequency at 20%, 17% and 13% respectively; which gives them approximately similar

¹⁴ The percentage of population for whom al-Balad is the primary market for items of daily and intermediate consumption.

¹⁵ The percentage of population that uses public transport to reach al-Balad.

weight of representation. Nonetheless, if we compare these weights with the weight of representation of these attributes in the imagination and practice of the general public, contradictions emerge, as the weight given by people to these attributes as being the primary character of al-Balad were 3.6%, 74% and 8.7% respectively. Identifying al-Balad as a market exceedingly outweighs its other attributes in the minds of the public. In practice, the weight of al-Balad as a market is different; 58% of the people of Amman shop on a daily to monthly basis, however, al-Balad is considered a primary place of shopping only for 8-11%.

Several contradictions can be observed here: firstly, the general public perception that al-Balad is primarily a market is not reflected in the weight given to this attribute in the media, or in the projects directed at al-Balad which, as we discussed above, are aimed at the development of the cultural/heritage and touristic aspects of the place, on the expense of the commercial and transportation aspects as evidenced by the removal of the transportation terminal which provided the source of traffic supporting the commerce of al-Balad. Secondly: despite the cultural aspect of al-Balad being one of its primary attributes as represented by the media, and reflected in the projects, it is not viewed as such by the people of Amman. Only 4% of the population views it as a primarily as a place of culture, and only a meagre 4% of the population perceives itself as practicing cultural activities. These contradictions are not per se indicative of a problem, as it could be reasoned that because of the already established commercial character of al-Balad, attention is being diverted by the media and via projects towards its cultural character. However, even given this logic, further contradictions appear problematic. In spite of the finding that 74% of the population think that the primary attribute of al-Balad is commercial, only 8% identify markets as its important heritage landmarks. On the other hand, 66% of population thought al-Balad was an important place of “archaeology and museums” in their lives, and 54% identified the most important landmark in al-Balad as an archaeological landmark, despite the fact that visiting archaeological sites and museum, that can be considered part of “cultural activities” is only performed by 4% of the population. To summarise (and generalise), people of Amman think of al-Balad as a market, but do not associate its markets with heritage; instead they associate heritage with archaeology despite not engaging with it.

Another contradiction can be observed in a comparison between the way people associate with al-Balad in their memories on one hand and as a place of heritage on the other. The findings show that al-Balad is a place of memories for about 40% of the population, and that this is correlated with age and gender in relation to memory content and frequency; so for example females have more memories of shopping, while males have more memories of socialising; the young have more memories of leisure activities, while the old have more memories of youth and family. Agreeing with the dedication of al-Balad as a “heritage centre” by GAM on the other hand, lacks such correlations. It is associated with neither gender nor age; nor with the presence of memories of al-Balad; nor with the perception of al-Balad as a place of “archaeology and museums.” In fact it only correlates¹⁶ with the desirability of place, whereby the more the people like going to al-Balad, the more they are likely to agree with its dedication as a “heritage centre.” This allows for an observation:

¹⁶Cramer’s V value of (0.092).

people view “al-Balad as a place of heritage” in an abstract manner, it can be argued that they appreciate that it is a positive notion (hence the correlation with desirability of place), but otherwise it has limited meaning, the process of transforming al-Balad into a place of heritage is external to their lives.

6.6.3. Al-Balad as a place of heritage versus al-Balad as a place of tradition

From the discussion so far, it can be concluded that al-Balad is transformed from a place of tradition (its denotation, and in the sense of tradition that is defined in this thesis) to a place of heritage (its connotation). Of special relevance here is the geographical relation between meaning and space in the traditional and the post-traditional, or as it may be in the pre-modern and the modern societies. Giddens (1991) argues that in the modern societies we are disimbedded from time and space, we no longer need to be connected to a space geographically or temporally in order to imbue it with meaning, this goes in contrast to the embodiment of space with meaning in the traditional societies, where a space was embodied with meaning when the user inhabited it, in real time. And thus places of tradition retained their meaning and a sense of belonging only so long they were used, the process of using carried the most significant meanings and symbolism and place was a mere vehicle of that use. When the use stopped, the meaning dissipated too. In the construction of the logic of modernity, the meaning and symbolism attached to a place does not necessarily need to connect geographically with its use, so while the symbolism of a place might be held in high regard by a certain group, the actual use and geographical connection via visiting and care could cease leading to the place’s neglect and dilapidation.

Lefebvre’s concepts of perceived, conceived and lived space, and the use of abstract space to perpetuate the cultural values of the elite are of special relevance here. On the denotative level of spatial meaning production, the meanings are naturalised and stable, they are mostly “perceived,” which makes the users unaware and uncritical of the meanings that are being attached to place, because they mainly evolve through the continuous and historical use of space. These meanings are however not fixed, they are fluid and historically changeable; a degree of conceptualisation does go into the production of space, making it “lived space.” On the connotative level, the conceptualisation of the meaning of space is emphasised; the meaning of space does not need to flow directly from its use, but can be constructed in the minds of its creators that are removed from space. The product is “conceived space.” A conceived space becomes abstract and requires a body of knowledge independent from the space to decode its new meaning.

Connecting the semiotic levels of the denotative and the connotative with Lefebvre’s notions of conceived and perceived space, as applied to spaces of tradition and heritage reveals another contradiction:

Places of tradition are significant for their function, and the symbolism they acquire comes mostly as a by-product of this function. These are “perceived spaces,” in the sense that the conceptualisation of their symbolism is not produced in the awareness of the users. Due to the naturalisation of their functions, the symbolism of these places is taken for granted. And so when places of tradition dissipate physically they become obsolete symbolically as well.

Places of heritage on the other hand, are significant for their symbolism. Their symbolism is a conceptual construct and can exist independently of space. Places of heritage, as per our previous definition of heritage, are “conceived spaces.” In a space of heritage the attributes of space are stable, they have been continuously present, and thus are taken for granted. It is the symbolism which is given new attention, and much of the capital is dedicated to support this symbolism and the structures that support it. In this case the symbolism can thrive, even if the space itself is dissipating.

However, the actual semiotic framework of meaning is not only two levels deep; it’s much more complex and consists of numerous levels of meaning and of denotative and connotative systems. The boundary between perceived and conceived spaces is blurred, and only comes into focus when we choose to analyse a specific aspect of that space. In its entirety, the space of al-Balad is “lived;” in its reality it is a complex mix of “perceived” and “conceived” spaces. Furthermore, abstract spaces, the product of connotative systems of meaning, are the historical building blocks of civilisations. The capacity to conceptualise multiple layers of abstract meaning is what differentiates human from animal. Abstract space is not the exclusive product of modernity either; it has been used through history for religious, cultural, and political purposes; purposes which often emphasise dominance.

Building on this idea, it can also be argued that the relationship between users and heritage is more shallow and immediate than the relationship between users and tradition. A relationship with heritage is symbolic; it satisfies psychological needs of feeling of belonging and identifying, or a curiosity as a tourism product. In the case of tradition the relationship is deeper and is in its essence utilitarian, it has to satisfy a need that is critical to livelihood, even when it takes the form of intangible processes such as worship or celebration. Gods are worshipped to sustain wellbeing; celebrations are held to reward hard work and share abundance. The consumer of tradition performs the patterns of tradition and consumes the products to sustain livelihood, the consumer of heritage stands outside (geographically or temporally) the process and consumes the products to sustain certain symbolism (of belonging and identity). Consumption of heritage is but an ephemeral part of the consumption of tradition. This logic can also be extended to the production process created by the “heritage industry,” where production does not follow utilitarian patterns connected to the past to sustain livelihoods, but rather follows utilitarian patterns connected to the present to sustain livelihoods, in the shape of creating and recreating objectified heritage products. The consumption of these products by the users remains mostly symbolic.

Chapter Seven: al-Balad as a place of heritage for the dissonant identities of Amman, analysis and conclusions

7.1. Introduction

This thesis starts out with what appears to be a common problem: the significance of a place of heritage in discourse is not reflected on practice and leads to its dilapidation. Throughout the thesis I attempt to explore three sources of contradictions that cause this problem, these are the process of meaning construction in capitalist societies, the global conceptualisation and institutionalisation of heritage, and the role the dissonance of identities has in creating dissonance in constructing heritage.

The three sources of contradiction come together to create confusion in regard to what the concept of heritage means to an Ammani. This chapter explores this meaning by using findings of fieldwork in relation to the contradictions emergent from previous chapters. To conclude the thesis this chapter relates these findings to al-Balad and the built environment of Amman, emphasises the significance of identity building for heritage, explains the contribution of this research to development planning and explores the possibilities of a more inclusive and locally relevant approach to conceptualising a relationship with the past.

7.2. How the people of Amman conceptualize heritage

In previous chapters I attempted to contextualise, via the use of fieldwork findings, the contradictions that emerge in the process of heritage construction by multiple actors in Jordan in relation to their multi-layered and hybrid identities and how this affected the construction of historical narrative. I also explored how this meaning is spatialised in al-Balad, and how contradictions emerge in social urban practice. At this point it would be useful to discuss how heritage as a concept is perceived and conceived by the people of Amman and how this relates to the problem of the research.

7.2.1. Defining heritage (turath) in Amman

The definition of heritage by the Ammanis was addressed in the questionnaire survey from several aspects, ranging from significance of heritage to the respondents, to their personal definition of the concept, to their conception of its numerous temporal, material and geographical attributes. The general perception of heritage by the Ammanis is quite positive, 97% of respondents found heritage very important to important (Q. 202¹), and 99% of respondents proceeded to elaborate on the reasons that make heritage important resulting in 85 different answers (Q. 203) (Figure 7-1). Furthermore 95% of respondents

¹ For the questionnaire refer to Annex 2.

agreed to contribute a definition, producing 39 different answers (Q. 201, open ended). In terms of providing a personal definition for the concept of heritage (turath), the two most frequent answers were “the customs and traditions that our grandfathers made for our children” (23%) and “everything that is old, archaeological and valuable” (22%) (the next most frequent answer was “old civilisation” at 6%).

46.6%	Knowledge and perpetuation of the past
26.9%	Source of identity or historical authenticity
9.5%	Economical resource for tourism
17%	Other

Q. 203: Reasons for the importance of heritage

Figure 7-1: Percentages of reasons given by the respondents as to why heritage is important.

To examine the tangible-intangible continuum as a scale of heritage (Q. 205), the forms of heritage were divided into four groups:

- 1) customs and traditions and values, representing intangible heritage;
- 2) stories and wisdoms, representing oral heritage;
- 3) clothing, embroidery and crafts, representing tangible moveable heritage; and
- 4) traditional buildings and old areas of the city, representing tangible immovable heritage.

The respondents were asked to provide two most important forms of heritage in their opinion. The most significant form of heritage according to the answers was found to be the intangible form as represented by customs, traditions and values (at 48%), and then progresses through degrees of tangibility and size ending with buildings and urban areas (decreasing form 25%, 17% and 11% respectively for the mentioned categories) (Figure 7-2). It is interesting to note that the second most important form of heritage according to the answers shows an exact reversal of the trend, whereby buildings and urban areas are the most significant, and the customs and traditions are the least.

47.4%	Customs and traditions and values	34.6 %	Traditional buildings and old areas of the city
24.7%	Stories and wisdoms	32.4 %	Clothing and embroidery and crafts
16.6%	Clothing and embroidery and crafts	19.1 %	Stories and wisdoms
11.3%	Traditional buildings and old areas of the city	14%	Customs and traditions and values

Q. 205/1: Importance of forms of heritage – Most important

Q 205/2: Importance of forms of heritage – Next most important

Figure 7-2: Percentages of the most important forms of heritage ranging from the intangible to the tangible, examined on two levels.

In regard to the accepted use of heritage buildings, the respondents associated it mostly with being an “art gallery or a museum” at (68%), followed by “restaurant or a café” at

(15%) (Figure 7-3). What this might indicate is the attachment of the conceptualisation of heritage to the notion of high culture: that heritage must be put to a cultural use in the shape of art, or as a museum. What this also points to is the public nature of heritage, that heritage must be accessible to all.

67.9%	Arts gallery or a museum
14.5%	Restaurant or a café
9.5%	Private use as a residence or an office
6.7%	A school or a college

Q. 212: the best use of heritage buildings

Figure 7-3: Percentages of answers on the best use for heritage buildings.

In terms of the geographical and the temporal scales of heritage there appears to be confusion in the conceptualisation. The answers were statistically proven to be affected by the identity of the person; religious heritage was considered the most important, followed by the national heritage in multiple-choice questions (despite the availability of other options) (Figure 7-4). However, when the respondents were asked to provide their own input in open ended questions, they tended to choose the heritage of old civilisations (pre-Islamic, such as Roman or Nabatean) as the most important one. So although the “heritage of old civilisations” only scored 6% in the question on the scale of heritage, it amounted to 68% of the answers in the open ended question. Religious heritage on the other hand amounted to 41%-53% of the answers in the multiple-choice question, and only 12% in the open ended question on the most important place of heritage in general. Also, the definition of heritage as “everything that is old, archaeological and valuable” was the second most popular definition of heritage as provided by respondents at (22%), while the religious aspect was only mentioned in (0.2%) of the definitions.

52.7%	Religious heritage	41.3%	Heritage of the Islamic Ummah
24.6%	National heritage	27.8%	National heritage
13.1%	The private family heritage	11.3%	Local heritage
5.9%	The heritage of old civilisations	9.8%	Heritage of Arab Countries
3.4%	Ethnic heritage	9.8%	Greater Syria (6.4%) World heritage (3.4%)

Q. 208: Scale of heritage – temporal scale

Q. 209: Scale of heritage – geographical scale

Figure 7-4: Percentages of the most important scales of heritage on temporal and geographical scales.

7.2.2. The notion of interruption in the conceptualisation of heritage and the significance of tradition as a relationship with the past in Amman

In Chapter Four, in a discussion of the role of modernisation in the conceptualisation of the dominant definition of heritage, the centrality of “interruption” for the concept emerged. As Giddens proposed, interruption of time, and the separation of the user from time and

space is a symptom of modernity, whereas the interruption conceived as a constituent of heritage is linked to the ethos of Enlightenment and its negative reaction to the past and to tradition. I propose in this thesis that tradition can be defined, in accordance with Shils, as a relationship with the past that does not involve interruption, but allows for the transformation of historical patterns and beliefs to accommodate the present.

This definition of a relationship with the past appeared to coincide with the definition of heritage by the people of Amman as tradition was strongly linked to the conceptualisation of heritage in both instances of definition, whereby tradition was mentioned in 32% of the answers, and as a reason for its importance, whereby tradition, or more precisely “knowledge and permutation of the past” accounted for 47% of answers, with examples such as heritage is important because “it reminds us of customs and traditions from the days of our grandfathers” (11%); for “transition of customs and traditions from generation to generation” (5%); and for “remembering your origin and your past because everything that is new goes away quickly” (1%). Other reasons given for the importance of heritage were:

- “source of identity” (27%): which consisted of answers such as “it is the civilisation of our past Umma” (11%), “it distinguishes us from other nations” (1%), and “our reference and origin is in our heritage” (1%);
- “economical resource for tourism” (10%): consisting of answers such as “increasing the tourism in the country and its revenue” (8%), and “because it supports the economy” (1%);
- “source of pride” (8%): consisting of answers such as “authenticity and history and values and originality” (4%), and “because I’m proud of this historical heritage” (1%);
- “aesthetical value” (3%): in answers such as “because it is beautiful” (1%), and “the past is beautiful” (2%);
- “resource for future generations” (2%): in answers such as “it is a field of experiments for the future” (0.1%) and “it is useful for our children” (1%).

This significance of tradition in conceptualizing heritage was also resonant in choosing Bedouins as the social group most attached to heritage (57% of respondents chose this answer) (Figure 7-5), as their image in society is that of a group still attached to and leading a traditional way of life.

57.1%	The people of the Badia
34.3%	The people of the Village
8.6%	The people of the City

Q. 206: social groups most attached to heritage

Figure 7-5: Percentages of answers on what social groups are the most attached to heritage.

7.2.3. The role of identity and belonging in conceptualising heritage in Amman

One of the main research questions concerned the link between conceptualization of heritage and identity. In order to examine this link I explored in more depth the incidents of association between the variable of identity and the variables that define heritage in the questionnaire. The data showed that this association was statistically significant and was in fact the strongest among the associations of other variables in the analysis. This finding statistically supports the hypothesis regarding the relationship between identity and the conceptualization of heritage.

Although the three main identity groups (Muslim, Jordanian and Arab) generally follow the average trends in conceptualising heritage as explored above, they differ significantly in certain details of this construction. For the Muslim identity group (comprising 52% of population), the reason for the importance of heritage as “knowledge and perpetuation of the past” is higher than the average. This corresponds with the description of this identity as oriented towards a past; not a real past, but rather a mythical historical utopia. Religious sentiment seems to colour appreciation of heritage, as this group identifies religious places as most important places of heritage more than the average. Similarly to other identity groups, this group finds intangible forms of heritage most important, however it considers “traditional buildings and old areas of the city” less important than the other groups. Why would this group dismiss the tangible immovable heritage in this way? This could be explained by examining the geographical scale of heritage that it finds important: it finds religious heritage much more important than the average on the expense of national heritage, which this groups finds less important than the average. History and discourse surrounding traditional buildings and urban areas is often national, and thus the Muslim identity group finds itself uninterested in this form, for reasons of preferring a religious ideology of unity over the national and because the majority of people identifying with Islam are of West Bank origin, dislocated from their historical built environment. On the level of geographical belonging the Muslim identity group follows the trend of belonging primarily to the East Bank, however this belonging is fragmented, members of this group feel much less belonging to cities or villages, and more to localities and urban elements such as neighbourhoods or tombs of the Prophet’s companions. This group appears to be rooted not geographically but rather in an ideological concept that spans the geographical boundaries.

As for the Jordanian identity group (comprising 23% of population), who appear to be following the general trend regarding mostly appreciating the intangible forms of identity such as “customs and traditions and values,” are actually less interested in heritage for the sake of “knowledge and perpetuation of the past,” and more for it being an “economical resource for tourism.” This interest also frames the heritage places they find most important – “archaeological/ heritage sites” on the expense of importance of “religious sites.” In terms of preference of the geographical scale of heritage this group also finds national heritage most important, which confirms their strong feeling of belonging to the East Bank. However their belonging in terms of scale does not incorporate the whole nation or country, instead it is specific to smaller scales of city and village and localities. This analysis of conceptualisation of heritage and belonging also serves to further the understanding of the Jordanian identity. This group has been previously as of tribal

character, where the Bedouin values are dominant, a circumstance that entails a high appreciation of intangible forms of culture and “customs and traditions,” as this was also the general impression that attributed the most attachment to heritage to the “people of the Badia” in the survey. However, the impression of this group that emerges from the survey, is one of a modernized identity in transition, meaning that it has internalized the ideas of modernity regarding belonging and framing the relationship with the past. This identity departs significantly from a position that viewed archaeological ruins as source of building materials (as in “Basilica affair” at the time of Emir Abdullah) towards viewing them as the main subject of heritage, and viewing heritage as a resource of economical development via tourism. It appears that the notion of the “nation” frames the conception of heritage for this group; however, this belonging is more of a feeling of prejudiced solidarity arising from tribal worldview than the modern notion of belonging to an imagined political entity.

The Arab identity group (comprising 12% of population), who identify with the Arab nationalist ideology that is a product of modernization as discussed before, follow the normal trend in relation to conceiving the importance of heritage, however they appreciate “traditional buildings and old areas of the city” more than other identity groups, especially in opposition to the view of the Muslim identity group. This view can be attributed to a number of reasons, the first being the appreciation of materiality associated with modernity, and also the appreciation of the nationalist narrative that is attached to these buildings and urban areas. Arab sentiment appears to frame their perception of heritage just as the case is with the respective ideologies for the other groups, as the preference of Arab heritage is much higher than average. Members of this group coincide with the average in terms of place of origin, however this group rates much higher than average in terms of feeling belonging to the West Bank, a sentiment only shared (in a more powerful manner) by members of the Palestinian identity. On the other hand, this group also displays a belonging to the “city and village” scale, and rates higher than average in considering “city/village/neighbourhood” as the most significant place of heritage. One conclusion that can be drawn from these two observations is that members of the Arab identity group originate from an urban or rural background, thus finding cities and villages more important and feeling a belonging to them. Also being more exposed to modernization in these two contexts, and not being committed religiously (this group rates lower than average in terms of regularity and collectivity of prayer) members of this group do not view themselves primarily as Muslims, but as Arabs, and thus the West Bank descent is translated into a belonging to the West Bank, and not into an trans-national unifying and geographically vague Muslim identity.

In regard to the issue of geographical belonging it appears that most people feel belonging to Jordan, feel strong belonging to Amman, whereby it is the place people chose as the place of belonging in an open ended question (what is the place you feel you belong to the most?), however this belonging is not to a nation, but to cities and villages. Q. 210 addressed the issue of geographical belonging, asking people to specify where they belonged in an open ended manner. The answers were varied and numerous amounting to 119 places (Figure 7-6); whereby the biggest percentage was Amman (36%), followed by Jerusalem at (8%), “my home” at (4%), and Salt (a Jordanian city) at (3%). These were in

turn categorised in two manners: the first one dividing the belonging according to its location in East or West Bank, while the second categorised the places according to their scale ranging from the smallest as “locality or small locality” which corresponded to answers such as “Gardens Street,” “the tombs of the Prophet’s companions,” “the house of my father” and “Khalda” (a neighbourhood in Amman), to the largest – “global and country” represented by answers such as “the Arab nation,” “Greater Syria,” and “my homeland.” In terms of belonging to East Bank vs. West Bank, it is noticeable that a majority of 80% indicated belonging to places in the East Bank. As for belonging to a place in terms of scale, the biggest percentage belongs to a city at (60%). Notably, belonging to a country is low at (5%). Another question on belonging (Q. 303) inquired about whether the respondent feels belonging to Amman, whereby the majority (93%) indicated that they felt belonging at strong to very strong extent.

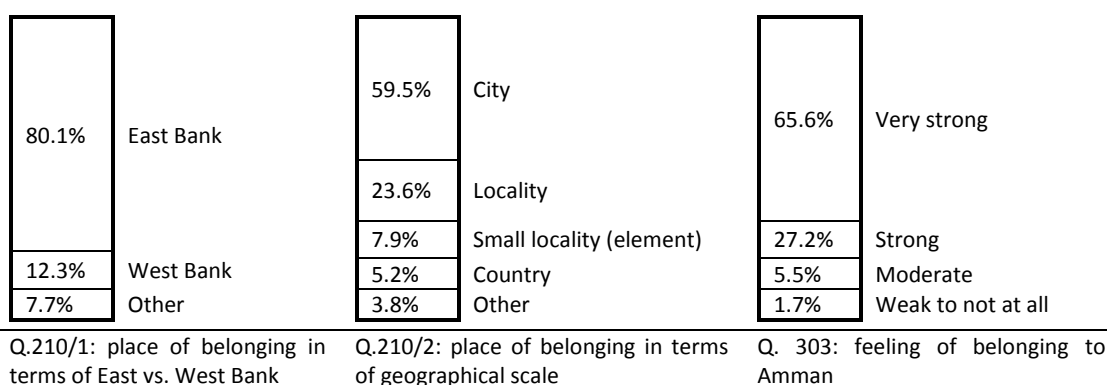


Figure 7-6: Levels of geographical belonging, in terms of belonging to West vs. East Bank, geographical scale, and the degree of belonging to Amman.

So if the purpose of heritage is to provide historical rooting and legitimating for one’s identity in the geographical place he/she occupies, how does this apply to finding continuity in religious or archaeological heritage? It can be argued that this is an indication that it doesn’t. As discussed above, the majority of the population of Amman has a history of displacement; whether it is from the West Bank, or from cities and villages in the East Bank, or from a certain way of life to another (from nomadic to settled). And so, perhaps due to the element of time (not enough time has passed), or due to the lack of participation in self-determination through a national public sphere (the main tool for rooting oneself in the “nation”), people choose a relationship with the past that is not geographical, but ideological; hence, the strong association with Muslim religious heritage. The shapes of heritage people associate themselves with are intangible; they are also not geographically rooted. They are traditions and values that can be carried with you and implemented in any context. People find tradition as a more convenient form of a relationship with the past than heritage, and this might be the reason why the Bedouin values have permeated the Jordanian culture so deeply, as these values are the product of a tradition of displacement as a way of life. However, some form of geographical rooting has taken place. People become attached to the localities and the city they reside in. The national sentiment fails to emerge at this level, as this attachment is not to an imagined nation but to a tangible place - where they live.

7.3. Spatialising a relationship with the past in al-Balad

This research addresses a problem: the apparent contradiction between the discourse surrounding al-Balad and its physical state of dilapidation. Throughout the dissertation I explore three possible sources of contradictions that cause this problem, these are the process of meaning construction in capitalist societies, the global conceptualisation and institutionalisation of heritage, and the role the dissonance of identities has in creating dissonance in constructing heritage.

In this research the notion of heritage is stripped to its primary meaning of “a relationship with the past” that could manifest in multiple layers of the tangible and the intangible. This broad definition is introduced in order to compare different concepts that are commonly used to identify this relationship, which in this context are heritage, history and tradition. The comparison is conducted to explore the differences in conception among the constructs and the extent of their relevance to different societies.

The first source of contradictions explored manifests through the construction of meaning. In an investigation of frameworks that explain the process, the semiotic framework of the Myth developed by Roland Barthes which shows the power dynamics in the manipulation of meaning is of particular relevance. This framework is synthesised with the ideas of Baudrillard and Lefebvre who also explored the process of production and consumption of meaning in bourgeois societies that is of particular relevance to the neo-liberal economic framework practiced in Jordan in the present, which caused a focus on cultural tourism and revitalisation of heritage as drivers of economic development in the first place. An application of this semiotic framework to the attributes of al-Balad as a place revealed contradictions that emerged as its meaning developed through history, and showed that although al-Balad is becoming known as a place of heritage (a place of the past), for the majority of the Ammanis it is still conceptualised as a market (a place of the present). Constructing the meaning of al-Balad as a place of heritage is not a problem in itself, as this could hold the possibility to transform the place into a tool of identity building (the original purpose of heritage) as well as a tool of economic development. However, the findings show that the focus is primarily on economic development which leaves the people of Amman outside the process of meaning construction, as this is performed by the heritage and tourism “industry.” As a result the meaning of the place remains on its first semiotic level as a place of commerce, a conclusion that can be derived from the people’s identification of the place in the survey as well the nature of their memories of the place, as a majority stated they remember shopping and other aspects of functional utilities performed in al-Balad.

The analysis also revealed particular contradictions among the meanings attached to al-Balad by the culturally powerful groups (through the media), the meanings the Ammanis attach to the place and the actual urban practice of the Ammanis. Al-Balad is being conceptualised as a place of culture, in the limited sense that refers to the arts and leisure, as can be deduced from the numerous galleries, cafés and musical festivals established and organised in its spaces. However, the people of Amman in general are not “culturally inclined” as is shown by the meagre percentage of people who perform cultural activities on a regular basis. Conversely, constructing al-Balad as a space of identity building, and the

processes of political expression this entails is suppressed. Despite the place's history as a locus of national sentiment, and despite the reforms introduced to allow for public expression (as for example the amendment of legislation for public assembly), the re-establishment of the popular political status of al-Balad is not straightforward, as can be deduced from the recurrent clashes between the police and demonstrators who call for reform, the latest of which occurred on 15/7/2011 (Figure 7-7) (Al-Arab al-Yawm, 2011) (Ammon News, 2011).



Figure 7-7: Demonstrations demanding constitutional and governmental reform start out from the front of al-Husseini Mosque in al-Balad and end in a confrontation with the police, resulting in injuries to 25 demonstrators, 16 journalists and 31 policemen (Ammon News, 2011).

The second source of contradictions emerges in the global conceptualisation and institutionalisation of heritage. An analysis of the plethora of definitions of heritage in relevant literature leads to re-instating its historical role as a legitimiser of social identities, and the significance of this role for the newly emergent nations that accompanied the advent the age of Enlightenment and modernity and espoused its ethos and latent contradictions. The major contradiction in this process is conceptualising an interruption between the present and the past, which renders the past frozen and dead. I argue that the use of the term “heritage” became the norm because its basic definition entails inheritance of material objects from deceased ancestor/s, a meaning parallel to the dominant conceptualisation of heritage. However, societies differ in their relationship with the past, and while some societies perceive it to some extent as a dead relic to be reified but not continued (especially in Europe, and the USA whereby it attains high symbolic value but little use value), other societies view the past as an inseparable entity from the present, whereby practices of the past continue to be relevant today (it retains high use value). This change of paradigm is brought about not as much by the process of modernisation, but by the espousment of the ethos of Enlightenment which promoted progress on the expense of tradition. Reification and freezing of the past as part of the “good practice” of conservation has been critiqued and challenged in many contexts (as discussed for case studies from Japan, Australia and Benin), and in the case of Jordan in general challenging this notion is of special importance. In social groups where the past is continuous in transformed shapes till the day, it is taken for granted. Since it is present and ubiquitous in daily customs and practices, people do not necessarily give it a historical dimension, and do not assign it with specific significance. Furthermore, if a social group is spared to some degree from exposure to different cultures (foreign or local), the need to legitimise

collective identity is weak, and thus groups might not develop the practice of seeking historical rooting. The focus on material heritage in dominant practice of conservation undermines the development of well-structured consciousness of representing the past in such groups, as it is easier to represent the past via objects than to explain the complex structures of historical social relations, customs and intangible culture. An example of this reasoning was discussed in Linda Layne's analysis of an exhibition of Kreimah, whereby the people of the village presented objects from their everyday life as "traditional products" and did not feel the need to explain them, while neglecting to represent their deep and complex social structure and the cultural practices in which it manifests itself (genealogy, oral history and mythology, tribal law).

In the case of al-Balad the focus on material manifestations of the past and the focus on supporting cultural and leisure activities undermine the sustainability of the process of meaning production which gives meaningful significance to the place. Although al-Balad is being "revitalised," the funds and efforts are dedicated towards conserving the most important physical landmarks and creating a cultural and leisure industry. However, the urban dynamics of the city are diminishing the commercial position of al-Balad and its role as a hub of transport and services, and not enough policies are enacted to counter this negative effect. Thus, al-Balad is being transformed from a place which has a strong semiotic denotative base that can support the connotative level, where the production and consumption of meaning are embedded in space, into a place whose denotative layer is undermined, and the connotative layer is based on a Barthes' myth. This space is abstract and its consumers are disembedded from its space, since it is its meaning that is consumed (the sign value and not the use value). In order to achieve a sustainable revitalisation of al-Balad that would allow for it to remain a truly "lived" space, the revitalisation should address its attributes bottom-up semiotically speaking, addressing al-Balad's problem as a market and a hub of services and transportation first, and working on cultural activities and meaning creation processes second.

The third source of contradictions examined was the dissonance of identities in Jordan, whereby I argue that different identities use the relationship with the past differently to assert their legitimacy, and this differs in terms of the narrative used; so for example the narrative of "modernised" groups would focus on different notions of nationalism, be it Arab, Jordanian or Palestinian. On the level of the official representation of the nation, the narrative is Hashemite, which is highly exclusive, in the sense that it does not extend to include the people of Jordan². This narrative heavily skews the national history of Jordan to the exclusion of past events before the arrival of the Hashemites. Until recently, this heavy-handed influence went unchallenged, as it was constitutionally forbidden to question the authority of the king, and the tactics of governmentality rendered the popular reading of history hegemonic. In order to escape this predicament and resolve the drastic problems associated with constructing an inclusive Jordanian identity, more than half of the population chooses to identify with religion over a nation, and thus the predominant identity in Jordan is "Muslim." Another factor that frames the relationship of certain groups with the past is their anthropological descent, especially in terms of ancestral way of life; be

² For example a person from Kingdom of Saudi Arabia identifies herself as Saudi, but a person from the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan identifies herself as Jordanian not as Hashemite.

it nomadic, rural or urban, as this deeply affects the person's relation to material objects and immaterial constructs. So for example, while people of urban descent might focus on material representations of history such as buildings and manufactured artefacts, people of Bedouin descent would focus on immaterial constructs such as genealogy and social relations.

The conceptualization of heritage by social groups is strongly linked to their identities. However, in a context where the conceptualization of identity itself is repressed, such as the case in Jordan, a gap emerges between the two constructs. Until recently any attempts to construct an inclusive national identity in Jordan did not entail serious efforts, as the State maintained that open discourse on identity would lead to disagreement that could endanger "national unity;" this is not explicitly stated, however, initiatives to foster a national identity are often dead-ended (such as the case with Jordan First initiative for example). In such a context, the process of cultural production that enables citizens to legitimize their identities by rooting them in the manifestations of the past is not consummated. People of Amman do not use built heritage to support their identities, as such they do not claim ownership of heritage. Presenting heritage as primarily an economic resource for tourism reinforces the cultural separation of society and their material past, as it becomes viewed as the tourists' property. It ceases being "ours" and becomes "theirs." Heritage, especially in its material manifestation, becomes an abstract object that bears little significant meaning.

A survey of what heritage means to the various identities that the people of Amman subscribe to and how they perceive al-Balad reflected the presence of the contradictions discussed above. The majority of Ammanis find heritage significant, however, their relationship with what they understand "heritage" to be is at times contradictory. On the one hand, the findings confirm the argument that conceptualisation of heritage corresponds the conceptualisation of identity, as people choose general forms of heritage, in terms of geographical and temporal scales to support their identities. And the preference of intangible forms of heritage gradating to the tangible ones is corresponding to the history of displacement characteristic of the Ammanis, either displacement part of the nomadic way of life for people of Bedouin origin, or displacement from other Jordanian cities and villages, or as the case with people of Palestinian origin, who form about 60% of the population, a violent displacement from their homeland. On the other hand, the findings indicate another hegemonic reading of what heritage is by the Ammanis, whereby they associate the term "heritage" with landmarks that depart from their conceptualisation for identity, so for example the majority of Ammanis, across their identity forms, chose archaeological heritage, and specifically the Roman Theatre to be the most significant. This corresponds with the official conceptualisation of heritage by the State through its formal institutions, which in turn are affected by the British appreciation of archaeology, and the more recent packaging of Jordan's history as a good to be consumed by tourism. This reading is undeniably complex and can be linked to numerous causes, but in the context of this research it indicates that the repression that have been practiced on public opinion by the State has cut off people's identities from their past. People are not openly and actively constructing their collective identities. And although it seems that the conditions of political expression and public discourse in general are immensely improving as a result of the Arab

Spring, incidents such as the clashes with demonstrators described above indicate that this change will not be easy.

The reason open and active public discourse is important to the construction of an inclusive conceptualisation of heritage, one that is meaningful and relevant, is the significance of “ownership” and reflexive agency as discussed in Chapter Three. Jordanians and Ammanis need to feel that they “own” their history and their past, through having a significant amount of control over it and opportunities to participate in its construction and narrative. In the current formulation of the Jordanian history, the main characters in the narrative are the Hashemites, and being an exclusivist narrative, it alienates people from their past. There is a need to re-construct the historical narrative, which would include the contribution of all the other actors (Jordanian, Palestinian, and several other Arab and ethnic groups) who participated and even lay the groundwork for the establishment of the nation. This narrative should focus on what the Jordanians find relevant and not just be a supply for a demand for a Christian or a Hashemite past.

Another significant finding of the survey is that the Ammanis perceive built “heritage” to be something belonging to the public realm, and associated with the arts and high culture. The downside of this reasoning is that when built heritage is conceived to belong to all, and that the care for it is the responsibility of everyone, this indicates, as the common wisdom goes, that the responsibility is held by no one. Although there are some individual actors passionately revitalising and protecting their personal and national heritage, for the general public the process is different. Many a person views their personal built heritage as “ruins” and as a burden, which at best could be appropriated by the government. The public view that the most appropriate and “respectable” function for heritage buildings is a cultural one, and that it need to be accessible to all is unfruitful, especially in a country where high culture is not supported enough by public policies to become a popular construct; as the findings show, cultural activities are practiced by a minority. I propose that strengthening policies that would allow for individual reclamation of heritage, in which a degree of exclusivity is allowed, would foster a sense of pride and ownership on a smaller and more “real” scale, where responsibility is clearly established. Conceptualising certain public landmarks as exclusively Jordanian, outside the realm of servitude associated with the tourism industry would foster a sense of exclusivity and pride too. Although the idea of exclusivity might appear contestable, the stock of neglected historical buildings in Jordan is plentiful, and I argue that dedicating a portion to supplement personal and national pride and foster a sense of mystique for the excluded groups can be beneficial. This can be noticed in the conceptualisation of mosques (historical and modern), where regular access is made exclusive according to religion and gender, and which by that exclusivity gain significance and become a source of pride. In regard to the use of built heritage, which is perceived as necessitating cultural functions, I argue that this removes these buildings from the realm of the everyday. Re-using heritage buildings as post-offices, libraries, private offices, and even residences, is more beneficial to making heritage relevant to the general public. These ideas have been incorporated in the heritage policies of many a country, and the cultural policy concerning heritage in Jordan is still a new construct that needs much development, serious application and resources. The contribution of the discussion above is

to highlight the general attitudes and opportunities for change that would allow for the construction of meaningful and relevant heritage for all Jordanians.

7.4. Implications of research for the theory and practice of heritage conservation and revitalisation; contribution and suggestions for future research

Attempting to understand a ubiquitous urban problem that is the dilapidation and neglect of urban heritage areas has been performed in depth in numerous research projects and publications. Several approaches can be used to address the issue, from performing economical analysis on market or tourism performance, to compiling and analysing the ethnographical profiles of users and their practices, to using methods of spatial mapping to understand the spatial dynamics of place. Coming from a background of urban planning and development, I directed the research towards a structural methodology that would produce generaliseable conclusions, and complement the existing ethnographic and anthropological research addressing questions of heritage and identity in Jordan. In order to produce findings that could facilitate decision making in the practice of heritage conservation and urban planning of heritage areas, the research attempts to explore trends, general perceptions, and statistically significant associations that emerge in the public conceptualisation of heritage.

The major contribution of this research lays in its statistical findings. Until very recently statistical exploration into issues of identity in Jordan has been “discouraged” due to its sensitivity, and the official information available on this topic has been classified. This research is the first academic attempt of its kind to provide statistical data on the identity, origins and characteristics of the people who make up the Ammani society, and link it to their perceptions of heritage and urban practices, it is also a precedence in providing statistical evidence on the strong association of the conception of identity and of heritage.

This research attempts to provide insight into contradictions that manifest in the institutionalisation and practice of heritage conservation by addressing its fundamental concepts, and by re-emphasising identity-building as the main reason for its construction. It examines the definition of “heritage” attempting to distinguish between what heritage “should be” and what it “is” in the reality of discourse and practice. This thesis takes a step outside the established ways of critiquing heritage by examining its fundamental role as a “relationship with the past” and comparing it other synonymous concepts. The thesis focuses on the difference in the conceptualisation of heritage between the “East” and the “West”, whereby the two constructs diverge in their ideological adherence to ethos of Enlightenment and manner of modernisation. The abrupt interruption of the way of life in Western societies due to industrialisation, its accompanying ideologies and economical reasoning set the framework for conceptualising the past in a specific manner which is not easily transferrable to other cultures. However, this conceptualisation is uncritically fostered in developing countries through the exchange of expertise, assistance in economic and cultural development and aid grants. The findings show that in the case of Jordan, the introduction of this manner of conceptualising a relationship with the past has turned it into an abstract “object” that is not as meaningful to the people. The findings also statistically illustrate the contradictions that become manifest between the conception of

collective identities and conception of heritage among the people of Amman, which undermine their self-perception, pride, and a sense of ownership of the past and its manifestations. Repression of an active public sphere and any consolidation of a political opinion opposing the State in Jordan additionally aggravates the contradictions.

In order to provide a structural framework for understanding how the meaning associated with heritage is constructed in Jordan, this research takes a semiotic approach by synthesizing the model of the Myth proposed by Roland Barthes, the values of meaning proposed by Jean Baudrillard and the construction of meaning in space proposed by Henri Lefebvre. The three writers have analysed the cultural contradictions that accompany the construction of meaning in bourgeois societies, as a result of the particularities associated with the culture of capitalism, while Lefebvre focused in particular on the manifestation of meaning in space. The synthesised framework has been used in the analysis of the meaning of heritage in other instances; however, here it is performed in more depth and detail, and coupled with the survey findings, demonstrates the gaps among the different levels of values associated with al-Balad.

Another aspect of the research that can be considered a contribution to both the practice and the theory on heritage is the challenging of the idea that the problem of neglect is caused by a lack of awareness of the significance of heritage. This mentality assumes intellectual superiority, when in fact it oftentimes comes short of appreciating the different and subtler manners in which people express their relationship with the past. In line with this reasoning I attempt to dissociate the concepts of tradition and tribalism from the pejorative notions attached to them, and show how these concepts provide framework for the expression of a more naturalised, flexible, internalised, intangible and continuous past.

Revealing the contradictions created by an “imported” approach to conservation and its lack of focus on identity-building in favour of economic growth actually illustrate the unsustainability of this process. A process whose existence depends on the construction of meaning cannot sustain itself for long while truncating and fossilising the dynamism of construction; at the same time, the real benefits of heritage conservation and tourism for local communities, both economical and cultural, have been subject to increased criticism as of late. In addition to highlighting the problems and contradiction, this thesis provides a new and rare base of data revealing the characteristics of the people of Amman, their urban practises and conceptions of identity and heritage, which can be of use not only for research on heritage, but also for achieving better understanding of the Ammanis in social and urban planning contexts. Furthermore, this thesis adds to the discussion of heritage conservation in Jordan by addressing notions of pride, ownership of history and the city, and questioning popular attitudes that presume the publicness of heritage and its intrinsic link to the arts.

This thesis draws on a broad spectrum of ideas and concepts in order to explore the research problem. Attempting to understand conceptualisation of heritage, its link to identity, exploring the construction of the meaning of heritage in space via the use of semiotics, and then attempting to illustrate the arguments derived from these exercises via statistical and media analyses, opens up opportunities and suggests ideas for numerous interesting research topics. In regard to the conceptualisation of heritage, interesting

conclusions might be derived from exploring the comparative method with other forms of relationship with the past that would challenge the understandings of conceptualisation of time, the differentiation of the tangible from the intangible and the ideological dominance exerted by the “West.” It would also be interesting to explore what heritage “is” in other contexts as well as creating a more diversified vision of what it “should be.” The link of heritage and identity can also inspire possible research projects that could explore how different types of identity modes and categories relate to their past and present it to others. Understanding how heritage is constructed in repressive versus democratic contexts could also offer valuable insights. Manifestation of the past in the built environment can be researched in numerous ways; the exploration could include aspects of spatial dynamics, aesthetics or documentation. This research approaches it via mapping of urban dynamics and exploration of meaning in the built environment, and both methods offer multiple questions for further research incorporating the process of gentrification in Amman, deeper analysis of urban practices, and more ethnographic methods of understanding meaning construction. Above all, this research offers an extensive body of data that describes the state of the Ammani society at this point in time, and can be analysed to produce more significant information on questions relating to the people of Amman, their characteristics, identities, urban practices and relation to their diverse pasts, which would form a significant contribution to research on Arab Muslim societies.

Finally, it is my sincere hope that this thesis will help in fostering a more inclusive and democratic relationship with the past for the people of Jordan, one that will enable them to strengthen their ownership of collective identities and built environment in a manner that contributes to their sense of pride and belonging; and that this thesis will provide data to enable more viable and sustainable heritage conservation, tourism planning, and urban development. In times of the Arab Spring change is inevitable, and knowledge of self and of own shortcomings and strengths is a powerful tool in creating a more prosperous Jordan.

References

- 2K. (2007). *Jabal Amman Project*. Retrieved January 2008, from 2K.jo: <http://www.2k.jo/>
- A Masterplan. (1968, December). A masterplan for improving visitor services and activities in Amman. Amman.
- Abdali. (2006). <http://www.abdali.jo/index.php>. Retrieved January 20, 2008, from www.abdali.jo.
- Abrams, D. (1990). How do group members regulate their behaviour? An integration of social identity and self-awareness theories. In D. Abrams, & M. A. Hogg (Eds.), *Social identity theory: constructive and critical advances* (pp. 89-112). London and New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf and Springer-Verlag.
- Abroe, M. (1998). Observing the Civil War centennial: rhetoric, reality and the bounds of selective memory. *Cultural resource management* , 21 (11), 22-25.
- Abu-Dayyeh, N. (2001). Architecture in Amman During the Emirate of Trans-Jordan, 1921-1946: The Case of the Central-Hall House. *GRAL conference*. URBAMA-Tours-France.
- Abu-Dayyeh, N. (2004). Persisting vision: plans for a modern Arab capital, Amman, 1955-2002. *Planning perspectives* , 19 (1), 79-110.
- Abu-Dayyeh, N. (2006). Prospects for historic neighborhoods in atypical Islamic cities: the view from Amman, Jordan. *Habitat International* , 30, 46-60.
- Abu-el-Haj, N. (2001). *Facts on the ground: archaeological practice and territorial self-fashioning in Israeli society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Abu-elSukkar, A. (2007, August 19). Interview with Ali Abu-elSukkar (Islamic Action Front). (J. Shawash, Interviewer)
- Abu-Hassan, M. (1993). *Al-Qada' al-'asha'iri fi al-Urdun (Tribal Jurisdiction System in Jordan)*. Amman: Aal al-Bait Organization.
- Abu-Lughod, J. (1984). Culture, 'modes of production,' and the changing nature of cities in the Arab World. In J. Agnew, J. Mercer, & D. Sopher (Eds.), *The city in cultural context* (pp. 94-119). Boston: Allen & Unwin.
- Abu-Lughod, J. L. (1987). The Islamic City: Historic Myth, Islamic Essence, and Contemporary Relevance. *International Journal of Middle East Studies* , 19 (2), 155-176.
- Abu-Nuwwar, M. (1989). *The history of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan: the creation and development of Transjordan*. Oxford: Ithaca Press.
- Addison, E. (2004). The roads to ruins: accessing Islamic heritage in Jordan. In Y. Rowan, & U. Baram (Eds.), *Marketing heritage: archaeology and the consumption of the past* (pp. 229-247). Walnut Creek, California: AltaMira Press.
- Agresti, A. (1996). *An introduction to categorical data analysis*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Akbar, J. (1988). *Crisis in the built environment: the case of the Muslim city*. Singapore: Concept Media.
- Al Qasem, Z. (1996). *Abna' Al Qal'a (Children of the Citadel)* (2nd Edition ed.). Amman: Greater Amman Municipality.

- Al-Abbadi, A. U. (1986). *Al-'asha'ir al-urduniyya: al-'ard, al-tarikh, al-insan (Jordanian tribes: land, people, history)*. Amman: Al-Dar al-Arabiyya lil-Tawzi' wa l-Nashr.
- Al-Aref, A. (2004). *Judicature among the Bedouins*. Beirut: The Arab Institute for Research and Publishing.
- Al-Asad, M. (1997). *Old houses of Jordan: Amman 1920-1950*. Amman: Turab.
- Al-Asad, M. (1997). Ruptures in the evolution of the Middle Eastern City (Amman). In M. Bonine (Ed.), *Population, poverty, and politics in Middle Eastern cities*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- al-Asad, M. (2004, September). *Urban Crossroads: Amman's most beautiful district (article in The Jordan Times)* . Retrieved January 2008, from CSBE.org:
http://www.csbe.org/urban_crossroads/urban_crossroads19/luweibdeh.htm
- Al-Farabi. (1985). *Mabadi' Ara' Ahl al-Madina al-Fadila (Book of Opinions of the people of the Ideal City)*. (R. Walzer, Trans.) Oxford: Clarendon.
- Al-Ghad. (2009, January 10). A bloody day in Amman (Mousa Barhoumih). *Al-Ghad (newspaper)* .
- Al-Ghad. (2007, December 12). A demonstration by 'Islamic Action' tomorrow in support of the Palestinian people (Rania Al-Sarayrah) . *Al-Ghad (newspaper)* .
- Al-Ghad. (2006, November 10). A demonstration in the centre of Amman protesting the massacre of Beit Hanoun and the crimes of the occupation army: the participants demand closing the Israeli embassy and evicting the ambassador (Muwaffak Kamal). *Al-Ghad (newspaper)* , p. 3.
- Al-Ghad. (2006, August 15). A demonstration this friday in the centre of the capital: opposition coalitions protest the government's initiative to amend the political parties legislations before amending voting legislations (Majed Tobeh). *Al-Ghad (newspaper)* .
- Al-Ghad. (2004, October 21). Al-Bisharat Market: one of the oldest market in Amman and its visitors are women (Islam Al-Shomali, in Arabic). *Al-Ghad (newspaper)* .
- Al-Ghad. (2004, October 30). An infinity of traditional dishes: Abu Mousa restaurant in the downtown, a 'trade mark' in serving 'karshat' (Nisreen Mansour, in Arabic). *Al-Ghad (newspaper)* .
- Al-Ghad. (2008, March 1). Café Al-Central: the salon of politicians and the cultured and a balcony for the visitors of the downtown (Mu'tasem Al-Raqqad). *Al-Ghad (newspaper)* .
- Al-Ghad. (2004, November 21). Despite the proliferation of shopping malls, Manko market is still the jewel of the downtown (Maisa Zureiqat, in Arabic). *Al-Ghad (newspaper)* .
- Al-Ghad. (2008, October 29). Downtown loses its commercial allure (Samah Bibars, in arabic). *Al-Ghad (newspaper)* .
- Al-Ghad. (2004, October 26). From Jaffa to Amman: Afghani.. the story of the oldest Oriental antiques shop (Ghassan Hozaen, in Arabic). *Al-Ghad (newspaper)* .
- Al-Ghad. (2008, December 27). Fu'ad restaurant: sixty years did not change the taste of falafel! (Dima Mahbouba, in Arabic). *Al-Ghad (newspaper)* .
- Al-Ghad. (2008, December 4). Hashem restaurant: authentic ambience did not change in 57 years (Majd Jaber, in Arabic). *Al-Ghad (newspaper)* .
- Al-Ghad. (2005, November 18). Hundreds of thousands participate in a public demonstration to protest against terrorism and confirm loyalty to the homeland (Wasfi Khoushman, in arabic). *Al-Ghad (newspaper)* .
- Al-Ghad. (2008, December 27). Jordanians congregate to support Palestine (Nooreddein Khamaiseh). *Al-Ghad (newspaper)* .
- Al-Ghad. (2006, December 18). Second hands is the permanent address for those seeking the 'cheapest' and the 'hippest' (Osama Abu-Ajameieh, in Arabic) . *Al-Ghad (newspaper)* .
- Al-Ghad. (2006, October 22). Second hands provides for the needs of the poor who cannot afford new clothing in the Eid (Lubna Rawashdeh, in Arabic) . *Al-Ghad (newspaper)* .

- Al-Ghad. (2004, September 30). Shop owners in the Hashemite Plaza: the Hashemite Plaza is drawing its final breaths (Nisreen Mansour, in Arabic). *Al-Ghad (newspaper)* .
- Al-Ghad. (2008, February 29). The Jahez Library: a little library containing manuscripts that cannot be found in museums (Mu'tasem Al-Raqqad, in Arabic) . *Al-Ghad (newspaper)* .
- Al-Ghad. (2006, September 30). The King has Souhour (early breakfast) ont he seventh of Ramadan at Hashem restaurant (Muwaffak Kamal, in Arabic). *Al-Ghad* .
- Al-Ghad. (2004, October 24). The oldest market in Amman: Bukhariyyeh market, is still the first with no competition (Islam Al-Shomali, in Arabic). *Al-Ghad (newspaper)* .
- Al-Jazeera. (2010, November 16). *Manufacturing consent in Jordan (Lamis Andoni)*. Retrieved November 2010, from english.aljazeera.net:
<http://english.aljazeera.net/indepth/2010/11/2010111673416321438.html>
- Alley, M. (1996). *The craft of scientific writing*. New York: Springer-Verlag.
- Al-Mahadin, S. (2007). Tourism and power relations in Jordan: contested discourses and semiotic shifts. In R. F. Daher (Ed.), *Tourism in the Middle East: continuity, change and transformaiton* (pp. 308-325). Clevendon: Channe View Publications.
- Alqam, H. (2007, April). *The Arab League Café*. Retrieved September 2010, from daratafunun.org:
http://www.daratafunun.org/main/activit/curentl/hani_alqam/1.htm
- al-Rabadi, F. (2009, March 26). Interview with Firas al-Rabadi (Heritage Unit/ GAM). (J. Shawash, Interviewer)
- Al-Ra'i. (2007, February 16). *A committee to propose solutions to the problems of Raghadan complex*. Retrieved August 2009, from www.alrai.com:
http://www.alrai.com/pages.php?news_id=143645&select=%22%D9%88%D8%B3%D8%B7%20%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A8%D9%84%D8%AF%22
- Al-Rai. (2008, June 15). *A loss (Mifleh Al-Udwan, in Arabic)*. Retrieved August 2008, from alrai.com:
http://www.alrai.com/pages.php?news_id=216389&select=%E3%DE%E5%EC%20%C7%E1%D3%E4%CA%D1%C7%E1
- Al-Rai. (2005, May 27). *Faisal street in the downtown: a socio-economic melting pot of life (Saleem Quna, in Arabic)*. Retrieved August 2008, from alrai.com:
http://www.alrai.com/pages.php?news_id=36570&select=%D4%C7%D1%DA%20%DD%ED%D5%E1%20%DD%DC%ED%20%E6%D3%D8%20%C7%E1%C8%E1%CF:%20%E3%D1%CC%E1%20%C7%CC%CA%E3%C7%DA%ED%20%C7%DE%CA%D5%C7%CF%ED%20%E1%E1%CD%ED%C7%C9
- Al-Rai. (2010, January 1). *Jafra brings back the allure of the downtown (Manal Al-Qiblawi, in Arabic)*. Retrieved September 2010, from alrai.com:
http://www.alrai.com/pages.php?news_id=312317&select=%E3%DE%E5%EC%20%CC%DD%D1%C7
- Al-Rai. (2005, February 17). *Opening of Al-Balad Theater today (Jamal Ayyad, in Arabic)*. Retrieved August 2008, from alrai.com:
[http://www.alrai.com/pages.php?news_id=21314&select=%C7%DD%CA%CA%C7%CD%20%AB%E3%D3%D1%CD%20%C7%E1%C8%E1%CF%BB%20%C8%DC%20\(%E3%DE%C7%E3%20%E1%ED%E1%C9%20%CD%C8\)%20%E1%D8%C7%D1%DE%20%C7%E1%E4%C7%D5%D1](http://www.alrai.com/pages.php?news_id=21314&select=%C7%DD%CA%CA%C7%CD%20%AB%E3%D3%D1%CD%20%C7%E1%C8%E1%CF%BB%20%C8%DC%20(%E3%DE%C7%E3%20%E1%ED%E1%C9%20%CD%C8)%20%E1%D8%C7%D1%DE%20%C7%E1%E4%C7%D5%D1)
- Al-Rai. (2010, July 26). Setting of the sun of Hamidiyyeh market which longs to its visitors, after the relocation of public transport lines from the downtown (Eman Al-Beik) . *Al-Rai (newspaper)* .
- Al-Rai. (2007, March 1). *Singer (Hind Khleifat, in Arabic)*. Retrieved August 2008, from alrai.com:
[http://www.alrai.com/pages.php?news_id=145450&select=\(%D3%E4%CC%D1\)](http://www.alrai.com/pages.php?news_id=145450&select=(%D3%E4%CC%D1))
- Al-Rai. (2006, September 14). *The first street-arts festival in Jordan (in Arabic)*. Retrieved August 2008, from alrai.com:
<http://www.alrai.com/pages.php?searchtext=%E3%E5%D1%CC%C7%E4+%DD%E4%E6%E4+%C7%E1%D4%C7%D1%DA+%C7%E1%C7%E6%E1+%DD%DC%ED+%C7%E1%C7%D1%CF%E4&appearance=2&searchdate=range&rangefromday=1&rangefrommonth=1&rangefromyear=2004&rangetoday=16&rangetomonth=9&rangeto>

- Al-Rai. (2006, August 17). *The Hashemite Plaza: a social painting of diverse colors (Mohammad Al-Ursan, in Arabic)*. Retrieved August 2008, from alrai.com:
http://www.alrai.com/pages.php?news_id=118576&select=%C7%E1%D3%C7%CD%C9%20%C7%E1%E5%C7%D4%E3%ED%C9..%20%E1%E6%CD%C9%20%C7%CC%CA%E3%C7%DA%ED%C9%20%E3%E4%20%D5%E6%D1%20%E3%CE%CA%E1%DD%C9
- Al-Rai. (2006, July 29). *The National Institute organizes musical evenings as part of 'Amman Summer' (in Arabic)*. Retrieved August 2008, from alrai.com:
http://www.alrai.com/pages.php?news_id=115921&select=%C7%E1%E3%DA%E5%CF%20%C7%E1%E6%D8%E4%ED%20%ED%CD%ED%ED%20%C3%E3%D3%ED%C7%CA%20%E3%E6%D3%ED%DE%ED%C9%20%DD%ED%20%AB%D5%ED%DD%20%DA%E3%C7%E4%BB
- Al-Rai. (2008, February 15). *The perfume of an approaching woman (Abdulhalim Abu-Daqr)*. Retrieved August 2008, from alrai.com:
http://www.alrai.com/pages.php?news_id=196228&select=%DA%D8%D1%20%C7%E3%D1%C3%C9%20%CA%DE%CA%D1%C8..
- Al-Rai. (2006, February 16). *The youth know the way to Abu Ali Kiosk in the downtown (Qassem Al-Majali, in Arabic)*. Retrieved August 2008, from alrai.com:
http://www.alrai.com/pages.php?news_id=81399&select=%C7%E1%D4%C8%C7%C8%20%ED%DA%D1%DD%E6%E4%20%D8%D1%ED%DE%20%DF%D4%DF%20%AB%C3%C8%E6%20%DA%E1%ED%BB%20%E6%D3%D8%20%C7%E1%C8%E1%CF
- Al-Rai. (2004, October 3). *Where do the young men go when the evening falls over Amman? (Waleed Suleiman, in Arabic)*. Retrieved August 2008, from alrai.com:
http://www.alrai.com/pages.php?news_id=1781
- AlSayyad, N. (1991). *Cities and Caliphs: on the genesis of Arab Muslim urbanism*. New York: Greenwood Press.
- Al-Sayyad, N. (2001). Global norms and urban forms in the age of tourism: manufacturing heritage, consuming tradition. In N. Al-Sayyad (Ed.), *Consuming tradition, manufacturing heritage: global norms and urban forms in the age of tourism* (pp. 1-33). New York: Routledge.
- Ammon News. (2010, July 16). *The two officials Al-Rifa'i and Al-Majali in Hashem restaurant (in Arabic)*. Retrieved September 2010, from ammonnews.net:
<http://www.ammonnews.net/article.aspx?articleNO=65054>
- Amselle, J. (2004). Intangible heritage and contemporary African Art. *Museum International* , 56 (1-2), 84-89.
- Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined communities: reflections on the origins and spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso Books.
- Anderson, B. (2007). Jordan: prescription for obedience and conformity. In E. A. Doumato, & G. Starrett (Eds.), *Teaching Islam : textbooks and religion in the Middle East* (pp. 71-89). Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Anderson, B. (2005). *Nationalist voices in Jordan: the street and the state*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Anderson, B. (2001). Writing the nation: textbooks of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. *Comparative studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* , 11 (1&2), 5-14.
- Anthias, F. (1998). Rethinking social divisions: some notes towards a theoretical framework. *Sociological Review* , 46, 505-35.
- Antoun, R. (1972). *Arab village: a social structural study of a Trans-Jordanian peasant community*. Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press.
- Antoun, R. (2000). Civil society, tribal process, and change in Jordan: an anthropological view. *International Journal of Middle East Studies* , 32 (4), 441-463.
- Antoun, R., & Harik, I. (Eds.). (1972). *Rural politics and social change in the Middle East*. Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press.

- Appleyard, D. (1970). Styles and methods of structuring a city. *Environment and behavior* (2), 100-17.
- Appleyard, D. (1979). *The conservation of European cities*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Ardalan, N. (1980). Places of public gathering. *Architectural transformations in the Islamic world: Places of public gathering in Islam* (pp. 5-16). Amman: The Aga Khan Award for Architecture.
- Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G., & Tiffin, H. (1989). *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures*. London : Routledge.
- Ashworth, G. (1994). From history to heritage - from heritage to history: in search of concepts and models. In G. Ashworth, & P. Larkham (Eds.), *Building a new heritage: tourism, culture and identity in the new Europe*. London: Routledge.
- Atkinson, R., & Bridge, G. (2005). Introduction. In R. Atkinson, & G. Bridge (Eds.), *Gentrification in a global context: the new urban colonialism*. New York: Routledge.
- Bagnall, G. (2003). Performance and performativity at heritage sites. *Museum and society* , 1 (2), 87-103.
- Bakig, A. R. (1983). *Amman: Yesterday and Today*. London: W.S. Cowell.
- Balke, J. (2001). *Developing a new standard-setting instrument for the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage: elements for consideration*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Ballinger, C. (2008). Authority. In L. Given (Ed.), *The SAGE encyclopedia of qualitative research methods* (p. 45). Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.
- Barakat, H. (1993). *The Arab world: society, culture, and state*. London: University of California Press.
- Barracough, G. (1955). *History in a changing world*. London: Watts.
- Barthes, R. (1964). *Elements of semiology*. (A. Lavers, & C. Smith, Trans.) New York: Hill and Wang.
- Barthes, R. ([1957] 2000). *Mythologies*. (J. Cape 1972, Trans.) London: Vintage Classics.
- Barthes, R. (1986). Semiology and the urban. In M. Gottdiener, & A. Lagopoulos (Eds.), *The city and the sign: an introduction to urban semiotics*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Batarseh, S. (2007, July 20). Interview with Saleh Batarseh. (J. Shawash, Interviewer)
- Baumeister, R. F. (1986). *Identity, cultural change and the struggle for self*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Beauregard, R. (1986). The chaos and complexity of gentrification. In *Gentrification and the city* (pp. 35-55). Winchester: Allen & Unwin Inc.
- Becker, H. S. (1998). *Tricks of the trade: how to think about your research while you're doing it*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bell, P., Greene, T., Fisher, J., & Baum, A. (2005). *Environmental psychology*. New York: Routledge.
- Benhabib, S. (1996). Introduction: the democratic moment and the problem of difference. In S. Benhabib (Ed.), *Democracy and Difference: contesting the boundary of the political*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Berking, H. (2003). "Ethnicity is everywhere": on globalization and the transformation of cultural identity. *Current sociology* , 51 (3-4), 248-264.
- Bernard, H. R. (2002). *Research methods in anthropology: qualitative and quantitative approaches*. New York: AltaMira Press.
- Berque, J. (1958). Medinas, villesneuves et bidonvilles. *Les Cahiers de Tunisie* , 5-42.
- Bhabha, H. (2004). *The location of culture*. New York: Routledge.
- Bickford, A. (1981). The patina of nostalgia. *Australian archaeology* , 13, 7-13.

- Biegel, R. (1996). Urban development and the role of the service and banking sector in a 'rentier-state'. In J. Hannover, & S. Shami (Eds.), *Amman: the city and its society* (pp. 379-403). Amman: CERMOC.
- Billig, M. (1995). *Banal nationalism*. London: Sage.
- Bocco, R., & Tell, T. (1994). Pax Britannica in the Steppe: British policy and the Transjordan bedouin. In E. Rogan, & T. Tell (Eds.), *Village, steppe and state: the social origins of modern Jordan* (pp. 108-127). London, New York: British Academic Press.
- Bohman, J. (2005, March). *Critical Theory*. (E. N. Zalta, Ed.) Retrieved February 2008, from The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy: <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2005/entries/critical-theory/>
- Boholm, A. (1997). Reinvented histories: medieval Rome as memorial landscape. *Ecumene*, 4 (3), 247-272.
- Boneh, D. (1987). Mystical powers of hyenas: interpreting a bedouin belief. *Folklore*, 98 (1), 57-64.
- Boorstin, D. (1964). *The image: a guide to pseudo-events in America*. New York: Harper.
- Boswell, D., & Evans, J. (Eds.). (1999). *Representing the nation: a reader - histories, heritage and museums*. London: Routledge.
- Bouchenaki, M. (2003, October). *The interdependency of the tangible and intangible*. Retrieved June 2008, from icomos.org: <http://www.international.icomos.org/victoriafalls2003/papers/2%20-%20Allocution%20Bouchenaki.pdf>
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: a social critique of the judgment of taste*. (R. Nice, Trans.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a theory in practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1990). *The logic of practice*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bowdler, S. (1988). Repainting Australian rock art. *Antiquity*, 62, 517-523.
- Breakwell, G. (1986). *Coping with threatened identities*. London: Methuen & Co.
- Brett, D. (1996). *The construction of heritage*. Cork : Cork University Press.
- Brewer, M. B. (1991). The social self: on being the same and different at the same time. *Personality and social psychology bulletin*, 17, 475-82.
- Britton, S. (1991). Tourism, capital and place: towards a critical geography of tourism. *Environment and planning D: society and space*, 9 (4), 451-78.
- Bromley, S. (1994). The prospects for democracy in the Middle East. In D. Held (Ed.), *Prospects for Democracy* (pp. 380-412). Oxford: Polity Press.
- Brown, K. (1976). *People of Salé : tradition and change in a Moroccan city, 1830-1930*. Manchester : Manchester University Press.
- Brown, N. J. (2006). Jordan and its Islamic movement: the limits of inclusion. *Carnegie papers: Middle East series, democracy and rule of law project* (74).
- Brubaker, R., & Cooper, F. (2000). Beyond Identity. *Theory and Society*, 29 (1), 1-47.
- Brunschvig, R. (1947). Urbanisme medieval et droit musulman. *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, 15, 127-55.
- Buckingham, J. (1821). *Travels among the Arab tribes*. London.
- Burckhardt, J. (1822). *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*. London.
- Butler, B. (2006). Heritage and the present past. In C. Tilley, W. Keane, S. Kuchler, M. Rowlands, & P. Spyer (Eds.), *Handbook of material culture* (pp. 463-479). London: Sage Publications.

- Butler, B. (2007). 'Taking on tradition': African heritage and the testimony of memory. In F. de Jong, & M. Rowlands (Eds.), *Reclaiming heritage: alternative imaginaries of memory in West Africa* (pp. 31-71). Walnut Creek, Ca.: Left Coast Press.
- Carr, E. H. (1961). *What is history?* London: Macmillan.
- Carrier, P. (2005). *Holocaust monuments and national memory cultures in France and Germany since 1989*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Castells, M. (1997). *The power of identity*. Malden: Blackwell.
- Castells, M. (1996). *The rise of the network society*. Malden: Blackwell.
- Castells, M. (1977). *The urban question: a Marxist approach*. (A. Sheridan, Trans.) London: Edward Arnold.
- Çelik, Z. (1999). New approaches to the 'Non-Western' city. *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 58 (3), 379-381.
- Çelik, Z. (1993). Review of: Cities and Caliphs, on the genesis of Arab Muslim Urbanism by Nezar Alsayyad. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 113 (1), 124-125.
- Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). (2008, February). *Jordan*. Retrieved February 2008, from The World Factbook: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/jo.html>
- Chandler, D. (2007). *Semiotics: The Basics*. New York: Routledge.
- Chelhod, J. (1965). *Les structures du sacre chez les Arabes (Islam d'hier et d'aujourd'hui, Vol. 13)*. Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve et Larose.
- Chippindale, C. (1993). Putting the H in Stonehenge. *History Today*, 43 (April), 5-8.
- Choay, F. (2001). *The invention of the historic monument*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Clarno, A. (2006, August). *In the tracks of historical-geographical materialism*. Retrieved June 2008, from Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, Montreal Convention Center, Montreal, Quebec, Canada Online: http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p104299_index.html
- Cleere, H. (2001). The uneasy bedfellows: universality and cultural heritage. In R. Layton, P. Stone, & J. Thomas (Eds.), *Destruction and conservation of cultural property*. London: Routledge.
- Cohen, R. (1978). Introduction. In R. Cohen, & E. Service (Eds.), *Origins of the State: the anthropology of political evolution* (p. 2). Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues.
- Coleman, S., & Crang, M. (2002). Grounded tourists, travelling theory. In S. Coleman, & M. Crang (Eds.), *Tourism: between place and performance*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Conder, C. (1889). *The survey of Eastern Palestine: Vol1 The Adwan Country*. London.
- Coon, C. (1951). *Caravan: the story of the Middle East*. New York: Henry Holt.
- Corner, J. (1980). Codes and cultural analysis. *Media, Culture and Society* (2), 73-86.
- Corner, W., & Harvey, S. (Eds.). (1991). *Enterprise and heritage*. London: Routledge.
- Corsane, G. (2005). Issues in heritage, museums and galleries: a brief introduction. In G. Corsane (Ed.), *Heritage, museums and galleries: an introductory reader*. London: Routledge.
- Cramer, D., & Howitt, D. (Eds.). (2004). *The Sage dictionary of statistics*. London: Sage Publications.
- Crang, M. (1996). Magic Kingdom or a magical quest for authenticity? *Annals of tourism research*, 23 (2), 415-431.
- Cressy, D. (1994). National memory in early modern England. In J. Gillis (Ed.), *Commemorations: the politics of national identity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Croce, B. (1966). *Philosophy, poetry and history*. Oxford: Oxford Univeristy Press.

- Crooke, E. (2000). *Politics, archaeology and the creation of a national museum of Ireland*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press.
- Daher, R. (1999). Gentrification and the politics of power, capital and culture in an emerging Jordanian heritage industry. *Traditional dwellings and settlements* , 10 (11), 33-45.
- Daher, R. (2006, February 9). Mideast cities compete for global inward investment. *The Daily Star* .
- Daher, R. (2007). Reconceptualizing tourism in the Middle East: place, hertiage, mobility and competitiveness. In R. Daher (Ed.), *Tourism in the Middle East: continuity, change and transformation* (pp. 1-69). Clevedon: Channel View Publications.
- Daher, R. (2006). Swift urban heritage donor recipes and neoliberal urban restructuring: Jordan and Lebanon as case studies. In M. Fawaz (Ed.), *Urban heritage and the politics of the present* (pp. 48-62). Beirut: American University of Beirut.
- Daher, R. (2004, July 3). The Old Families of the Levant rehabilitate their cultural heritage: family homes become theme restaurants, galleries, museums. *The Daily Star* , p. 12.
- Daher, R. (1995). The resurrection of the Hijaz Railroad line. In ?, *Studies in history and archeology of Jordan* (Vol. 5, pp. 344-345). Amman.
- Daher, R. (2007). Tourism, heritage, and urban transformations in Jordan and Lebanon: emerging actors and global-local juxtapositions. In R. Daher (Ed.), *Tourism in the Middle East: continuity, change and transformation* (pp. 263-307). Clevedon: Channel View Publications.
- Daher, R. (2003, October 1). Traveling workshop to unravel recent cultural legacy of the Levant: Researchers from 4 countries study dynamics of heritage definition, its connected public, actors, networks. *The Daily Star* , p. 8.
- Daher, R. (2005). Urban regeneration/heritage tourism endeavours: the case of Salt, Jordan 'Local actors, international donors, and the State'. *International journal of heritage studies* , 11 (4), 289-308.
- Daher, R. (2010). Urban rehabilitation in the midst of agencies, actors, and activists. *Civil society and cultural heritage in the Mediterranean*. Palermo: Euromed Heritage.
- Dann, U. (1989). *King Hussein and the challenge of Arab radicalism: Jordan, 1955-1967*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dann, U. (1984). *Studies in the history of Transjordan, 1920-1949*. Boulder CO.
- de Certeau, M. (2002). *The practice of everyday life*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Deacon, H., Dondolo, L., Mrubata, M., & Prosalendis, S. (2004). *The subtle power of intangible heritage: legal and financial instruments for safeguarding intangible heritage*. Cape Town: Human Sciences Research Council.
- Debary, O. (2004). Deindustrialisation and museumification: from exhibited memory to forgotten history. *Annals of the American academy of political and social science* , 595 (1), 122-133.
- Department of Antiquities. (2006). *Historical summary about the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*. Retrieved November 2010, from jordan.gov.jo: <http://images.jordan.gov.jo/wps/wcm/connect/gov/%24%24%21%21941/%24%24%21%21946/%24%24%21%211032/%24%24%21%21894/>
- Department of Antiquities. (2010, June). *Summary about the Department of Antiquities*. Retrieved November 2010, from doa.jo: <http://www.doa.jo/doa1.htm>
- Department of Antiquities. (2007, August). *Summary about the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*. Retrieved November 2007, from doa.jo: <http://www.doa.jo/doa1.htm>
- Department of Land and Surveys. (2006). *DLS annual report*. Amman: DLS.
- Department of Lands and Survey/ Jordan. (2007, November). *DLS Historical background*. Retrieved January 2008, from <http://www.dls.gov.jo/english/docs/Historical%20Background.pdf>

- Department of Statistics. (2006). *Population (by governorate and sex)*. Retrieved February 2008, from Jordan in figures: http://www.dos.gov.jo/jorfig/2006/jor_f_e.htm
- Diaz-Andreu, M., & Champion, T. (Eds.). (1996). *Nationalism and archaeology in Europe*. London: UCL Press.
- Dicks, B. (2000a). *Heritage, place and community*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Dicks, B. (2000b). Encoding and decoding the people. *European journal of communication* , 15 (1), 61-78.
- Dicks, B. (2003). Heritage, governance and marketization: a case study from Wales. *Museum and Society* , 1 (1), 30-44.
- DLS. (2004). *Distribution of population in settlements of 5,000 and more according to gender, nationality and governorates* . Retrieved September 2010, from www.dos.gov.jo: http://www.dos.gov.jo/dos_home/census2004/cen04_3.pdf/table_3_2.pdf
- Dodgshon, R. (1999). Human geography and the end of time? Some thoughts on the notion of time-space compression. *Environment and planning D: society and space* , 17 (5), 607-620.
- Dols, M. (1977). *The Black Death in the Middle East*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Downs, R., & Stea, D. (1973). *Image and environment*. Chicago: Aldine.
- Duncan, J. (1973). Landscape taste as a symbol of group identity. *Geographical review* (63), 334-55.
- During, S. (2003). *The cultural studies reader*. New York: Routledge.
- Durkheim, E. (1984). *The division of labour in society (1893)*. London: Macmillan.
- E., K.-T., & C., S.-C. (2003). Identity and place: the testament of designated heritage in Hong Kong. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* , 9 (2), 93-115.
- Echo-Hawk, W. (1997). Ancient history in the New World: integrating oral traditions and the archaeological record. *American antiquity* , 65 (2), 267-290.
- Edgar, A., & Sedgwick, P. (2005). *Cultural theory: the key concepts*. New York: Routledge.
- Eickelman, D. F. (1974). Is there an Islamic city? The making of a quarter in a Moroccan town. *International Journal of Middle East Studies* , 5 (3), 274-294.
- Eickelman, D. F. (2002). Islam and the languages of modernity. In S. N. Eisenstadt (Ed.), *Multiple modernities* (pp. 119-135). New Brunswick (USA) and London (UK): Transaction Publishers.
- Eisenstadt, S. N. (2002). Multiple modernities. In S. N. Eisenstadt (Ed.), *Multiple modernities* (pp. 1-29). New Brunswick (USA) and London (UK): Transactio Publishers.
- Eiser, R., & Smith, A. J. (1972). Preference for accuracy and positivity in the description of oneself by another. *European journal of social psychology* , 2 (2), 199-201.
- Elbabour, M. (1980). Systems of cities: an alternative approach to medieval Middle Eastern urbanism. *Annual meeting of the Association of American Geographers*. Louisville.
- Elias, N. (1969). *The civilizing process (1939)*. Oxford: Balckwell.
- Esman, M., & Rabinovich, I. (Eds.). (1988). *Ethnicity, pluralism and the state in the Middle East*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Ezzy, D. (2002). *Qualitative analysis: practice and innovation*. London: Routledge.
- Fabian, S. (2008). Voice. In L. Given (Ed.), *The SAGE encyclopedia of qualitative research methods* (pp. 943-944). Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.
- Fafo & UNFPA. (2007). *Iraqis in Jordan: their number and characteristics*. Amman: Department of Statistics (Jordan).
- Fainstein, S., & Judd, D. (1996). Global forces, local strategies, and urban tourism. In S. Fainstein, & D. Judd (Eds.), *The tourist city* (pp. 1-17). New Haven: Yale University Press.

- Fakher, A. (2009, June 29). Interview with Ahmad Fakher. (J. Shawash, Interviewer)
- Faris, H. (1986). Heritage and ideologies in contemporary Arab thought: contrasting views of change and development. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 21, 89-103.
- Fathi, S. (1994). *Jordan - an invented nation? Tribe-state dynamics and the formation of national identity*. Hamburg: Deutsches Orient-Institut.
- Feenberg, A. (2005). *Heidegger and Marcuse: the catastrophe and redemption of history*. New York: Routledge.
- Firey, W. (1945). Sentiment and symbolism as ecological variables. *America sociological review* (10), 140-48.
- Fischbach, M. (1994). British land policy in Transjordan. In E. Rogan, & T. Tell (Eds.), *Village, steppe and state: the social origins of modern Jordan* (pp. 80-107). London & New York: British Academic Press.
- Fischbach, M. (2000). *State, society and land in Jordan*. Leiden, Boston, Koln: Brill.
- Fitch, J. (1982). *Historic preservation: curatorial management of the built world*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Fladmark, J. (Ed.). (2000). *Heritage and museums: shaping national identity*. Shaftesbury: Donhead.
- Fogelson, R. (2001). *Downtown: its rise and fall, 1880-1950*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Foster, J. J. (1998). *Data analysis using SPSS for Windows : a beginner's guide*. London: Sage Publications.
- Foucault, M. (1991). Governmentality. In G. Burchell, C. Gordon, & P. Miller (Eds.), *The Foucault effect: studies in governmentality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/ knowledge: selected interviews and other writings*. (C. Gordon, Ed.) Brighton: Harvester.
- Foucault, M. (1970). *The order of things: an archaeology of the human sciences*. London: Tavistock.
- Fourmile, H. (1989). Who owns the past? Aboriginals as captives of the archives. *Aboriginal history*, 13, 1-8.
- Fried, M., & Gleicher, P. (1961). Some sources of residential satisfaction in an urban slum. *Journal of the American Institute of planners* (27), 305-15.
- Fromkin, D. (1989). *A peace to end all peace: creating the modern Middle East 1914-1922*. London: Penguin Books.
- Fuchs, R. (2000). Public Works in the Holy Land: Government Buildings under the British Mandate in Palestine, 1917-48. In L. Campbell (Ed.), *Twentieth Century Architecture and Its Histories* (pp. 275-306). London?: Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain.
- Fuchs, R., & Herbert, G. (2001). A Colonial Portrait of Jerusalem, British Architecture in Jerusalem of the Mandate 1917-48. In N. al-Sayyad (Ed.), *Hybrid Urbanism* (pp. 81-108). Westpoint Conn.: Praeger.
- Fukuyama, F. (1992). *The end of history and the last man*. New York: Free Press.
- Gable, E., & Handler, R. (2003). After authenticity at an American heritage site. In S. Low, & D. Lawrence-Zúñiga (Eds.), *The anthology of space and place: locating culture*. Malden: Blackwell.
- Gagnon, B. (2010, April 10). *Roman theater, Amman*. Retrieved September 2010, from wikipedia.org: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Roman_theater_of_Amman_01.jpg
- Gallagher, J., & Robinson, R. (1953). The Imperialism of free trade. *The economic history review*, 6 (1).
- GAM & Dar al-Handasah. (1988). *Greater Amman Comprehensive Development Plan*. Amman.

- GAM. (2005). Retrieved January 2008, from History of Amman and Amman Municipality: http://www.ammancity.gov.jo/english/about_amman/about.asp
- GAM. (2008). *Amman Area Plan: cultural heritage and antiquities*. Amman: GAM.
- GAM. (2006). *Amman Vision Document*. Retrieved January 2008, from [ammancity.gov.jo: http://www.ammancity.gov.jo/english/master/img/EVision.pdf](http://www.ammancity.gov.jo/english/master/img/EVision.pdf)
- GAM. (2007(a)). *Downtown Amman Project*. Retrieved 2008 January, from [ammancity.gov.jo: http://www.ammancity.gov.jo/english/project/p8.asp](http://www.ammancity.gov.jo/english/project/p8.asp)
- GAM. (2007(b)). *Faisal Street Urban Regeneration & Revitalization Project (Terms of Reference)*. Amman: TURTH.
- GAM. (2007). *Metropolitan Growth Strategy*. Retrieved January 2008, from [ammancity.gov.jo: http://www.ammancity.gov.jo/arabic/master/pahse4/RuralHousing.pdf](http://www.ammancity.gov.jo/arabic/master/pahse4/RuralHousing.pdf)
- GAM. (2000). *Municipality of Greater Amman Yearbook*. Amman: Greater Amman Municipality .
- GAM. (2008, May). *The Amman plan: metropolitan growth report*. Retrieved May 2008, from [www.ammanplan.gov.jo: http://www.ammanplan.gov.jo/english/ammanplan.asp](http://www.ammanplan.gov.jo/english/ammanplan.asp)
- Gard'ner, J. (2004). Heritage protection and social inclusion: a case study from the Bangladeshi community of East London. *International journal of heritage studies* , 10 (1), 75-92.
- Gay, P. d., Hal, S., Janes, L., Mackay, H., & Negus, K. (1996). *Doing cultural studies: the story of the Sony Walkman*. London: Sage Publications.
- Gellner, E. (1994). *Conditions of liberty: civil society and its rivals*. London: Hamish Hamilton.
- Gellner, E. (1992). *Postmodernism, Reason and Religion*. London: Routledge.
- Gelvin, J. L. (2008). *The modern Middle East: a history*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ghandour, F. (2009, March 30). Interview with Fadi Ghandour . (J. Shawash, Interviewer)
- Ghawanmeh, Y. (1985). The effect of plague and drough on the environment of the southern Levant during the late Mamluk period. In A. Hadidi (Ed.), *Studies in the history and archaeology of Jordan* (Vol. 2, pp. 315-322). London: Dept. of Antiquities (Jordan) and Routledge & Kegan Paul Inc.
- Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and self-identity: self and society in the late modern age*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Giddens, A. (1984). *The constitution of society: outline of the theory of structuration*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Gilbert, M. (1975). *Winston S. Churchill, 1916-1922* (Vol. 2). Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Giles, H., & Johnson, P. (1987). Ethnolinguistic identity theory: A social psychological approach to language maintenance. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* , 68, 69-99.
- Giles, H., Bourhis, R. Y., & Taylor, D. M. (1977). Towards a theory of language in ethnic group relations. In H. Giles, *Language, ethnicity and intergroup relations*. New York: Academic Press.
- Gilmore, D. D. (1987). Introducton: the shame of dishonor. In D. Gilmore (Ed.), *Honor and shame and the unity of the Mediterranean* (pp. 2-22). Washington, D.C.: American Anthropologicla Association.
- Given, L. M., & Saumure, K. (2008). Trustworthiness. In L. Given (Ed.), *The SAGE encyclopedia of qualitative research methods* (pp. 895-896). Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.
- Glaeser, E. (2004, October). *The political economy of hatred*. Retrieved January 2008, from Harvard Institute Research (Working Paper No. 1970): <http://www.economics.harvard.edu/faculty/glaeser/files/Hatred.pdf>
- Glock, A. (1994). Archaeology and cultural survival: the future of the Palestinian past. *Journal of Palestine studies* , 23 (3), 70-84.

- Glock, A. (1995). Cultural bias in the archaeology of Palestine. *Journal of Palestine studies* , 24 (2), 48-59.
- Goffman, E. (1963). *Stigma: notes on the management of spoiled identity*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Göle, N. (2002). Snapshots of Islamic modernities. In S. N. Eisenstadt (Ed.), *Multiple modernities* (pp. 91-117). New Brunswick (USA) and London (UK): Transaction Publishers.
- Golledge, R., & Zannaras, G. (1976). Cognitive approaches to the analysis of human spatial behavior. In W. Ittleson (Ed.), *Environment and cognition*. New York: Seminar Press.
- Goody, B., & et., a. (1971). City scene. In *Research Memorandum 10*. University of Bermingham: Center for Urban and Regional Studies.
- Gottdiener, M., & Lagopoulos, A. P. (1986). Introduction. In M. Gottdiener, & A. P. Lagopoulos (Eds.), *The city and the sign: an introduction to urban semiotics* (pp. 1-22). New York: Columbia Universtiy Press.
- Government of Jordan. (2005, November). *National agenda 2006-1015 (English summary)*. Retrieved November 2010, from nationalagenda.jo:
<http://www.nationalagenda.jo/Portals/0/EnglishBooklet.pdf>
- Government of Jordan. (2005, October). *National agenda 2006-2015 (Al-Ajendah al-Wataniyyah, in Arabic)*. Retrieved November 2010, from nationalagenda.jo:
<http://www.nationalagenda.jo/Portals/0/NA%20-%20Chapter%206.pdf>
- Graham, B. (2002). Heritage as knowledge: capital or culture? *Urban studies* , 39 (5-6), 1003-1017.
- Graham, B., Ashworth, G., & Turnbridge, J. (2000). *A geography of heritage: power, culture and economy*. London: Arnold (Hoddler Headline Group).
- Grainge, P. (1999). Reclaiming heritage: colourization, culture wars and the politics of nostalgia. *Cultural studies* , 13 (4), 621-638.
- Gramsci, A. (1934). *Selections from the Prison Books*. (G. Nowell-Smith, Ed.) London: Lawrence & Wishart Ltd.
- Gray, M. (2000). Development strategies and the political economy of tourism in contemporary Jordan. In G. Joffe (Ed.), *Jordan in transition 1990-2000* (pp. 308-29). London: Hurst & Company.
- Gray, M. (2002). Development strategies and the political economy of tourism in contemporary Jordan. In G. Joffe (Ed.), *Jordan in transition: 1990-2000*. London: Hurst and Company.
- Greater Amman Municipality. (2008, May). *Vision document: The Amman plan - metropolitan growth*. Retrieved May 2008, from [www.ammanplan.gov.jo](http://www.ammanplan.gov.jo/english/docs/EVision.pdf):
<http://www.ammanplan.gov.jo/english/docs/EVision.pdf>
- Greenspan, A. (2002). *Creating colonial Williamsburg: the restoration of Virginia's eighteenth-century capital*. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Greimas, A. J. (1976). *Semiotiques et sciences sociales*. Paris: Seuil.
- Grieve, N. (2005). *The urban conservation glossary*. Retrieved August 2010, from <http://www.trp.dundee.ac.uk/research/glossary/venice.html>
- Grossberg, L., Nelson, C., & Treichler, P. A. (1992). *Cultural studies*. New York: Routledge.
- Grunebaum, G. v. (1955). The structure of the Muslim town. *Islam: essays in the nature and growth of a cultural tradition, Memoir No. 81* .
- Gubser, P. (1988). Jordan: balancing pluralism and authoritarianism. In P. J. Chelkowski, & R. J. Pranger (Eds.), *Ideology and power in the Middle East* (pp. 89-114). Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Guibernau, M. (1996). *Nationalisms: the nation state and nationalisms in the twentieth century*. Oxford: Polity Press.

- Habermas, J. (1962). *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. (T. Burger, & F. Lawrence, Trans.) Cambridge: Polity.
- Habermas, J., Lennox, S., & Lennox, F. (1974). The public sphere: an encyclopedia article (1964). *New German Critique*, 3, 49-55.
- Hacker, J. (1960). *Modern Amman: a social study*. (J. I. Clarke, Ed.) Durham: University of Durham.
- Hacking, I. (1990). *The taming of chance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hadid, S. (2009, July 19). Interview with Sita Hadid. (J. Shawash, Interviewer)
- Haggerty, K. D. (2008). Reliability. In L. Given (Ed.), *The SAGE encyclopedia of qualitative research methods* (pp. 753-754). Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.
- Hakim, B. S. (1986). *Arabic-Islamic Cities*. London: KPI.
- Hall, S. (1980). Cultural Studies: two paradigms. *Media, Culture and Society*, 2, 57-72.
- Hall, S. ([1973] 1980). Encoding/decoding. In 1.-7. Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (Ed.), *Culture, media, language: working papers in cultural studies* (pp. 128-38). London: Hutchinson.
- Hall, S. (1996). Introduction: who needs identity? In S. Hall, & P. d. Gay (Eds.), *Questions of cultural identity*. London: Sage.
- Hall, S. (1997). *Representation: cultural representations and signifying practices*. London: Sage/ Open University.
- Halpern, M. (1963). *The politics of social change in the Middle East and North Africa*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Hamarneh, M. (1996). Amman in British travel accounts of the 19th century. In J. Hanoyyer, & S. Shami (Eds.), *Amman: the City and its Society* (pp. 57-70). Beirut: Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches sur leMoyen-Orient Contemporain (CERMOC).
- Hannoyer, J., & Shami, S. (Eds.). (1996). *Amman: the city and its society*. Beirut: CERMOC.
- Hao'bbsh, M. (2000). *Up grading heritage conservation framework and strategies for Jordan (Masters thesis)*. Amman: University of Jordan.
- Harkin, M. (1995). Modernist anthropology and tourism of the authentic. *Annals of tourism research*, 22 (3), 650-670.
- Harré, R. (2000). *One thousand years of philosophy*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Harris, R. (1987). *Reading Saussure: a critical commentary on the 'Cours de linguistique générale'*. London: Duckworth.
- Harrison, J., & Sarre, P. (1975). Personal construct theory in the measurment of environmental images. *Environment and behavior* (7), 2-58.
- Harvey, D. (2001). Heritage pasts and heritage presents: temporality, meaning and the scope of heritage studies. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 7 (4), 319-228.
- Hashem, I. (2007, July 29). Interview with Ibrahim Hashem (Heritage Unit, GAM). (J. Shawash, Interviewer)
- Hassan, R. (2007). On being religious: patterns of religious commitment in Muslim societies. *The Muslim World*, 97, 437-478.
- Hassan, W. (2005). Lawrence, T. E. In D. S. Kastan, *The Oxford encyclopedia od British literature*. Oxford University Press.
- Hawkes, J. (2001). *The fourth pillar of sustainability: culture's essential role in public planning*. Melbourne: Cultural Development Network.
- Hayden, D. (1997). *The power of place*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Hefner, R. W. (1998). Multiple modernities: Christianity, Islam and Hinduism in a Globalizing age. *Annual review of anthropology*, 27, 92.

- Heikkilä, E., & Peycam, P. (2010, January 19). Economic development in the shadow of Angkor Wat: meaning, legitimation, and myth. *Journal of planning education and research*, 1-16.
- Henderson, J. (2001). Heritage, identity and tourism in Hong Kong. *International journal of heritage studies*, 7 (3), 219-35.
- Hewison, R. (1987). *The heritage industry: Britain in a state of decline*. London: Methuen.
- Hjelmslev, I. (1961). *Prolegomena to a theory of language*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- HKJ. (1952, January 1). *Chapter 2: Rights and Duties of Jordanians*. Retrieved March 2008, from The Constitution of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (HKJ): http://www.kinghussein.gov.jo/constitution_jo.html
- Ho, R. (2006). *Handbook of univariate and multivariate data analysis and interpretation with SPSS*. Boca Raton, FL, USA: Chapman and Hall/CRC (Taylor & Francis Group).
- Hobsbawm, E., & Ranger, T. (Eds.). (1992). *The invention of tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hodge, R., & Tripp, D. (1986). *Children and television: a semiotic approach*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Hodges, A., & Watson, S. (2000). Community based heritage management: a case study and agenda for research. *International journal of heritage studies*, 6 (3), 231-243.
- Hollinshead, K. (1997). Heritage tourism under post-modernity: truth and the past. In C. Ryan (Ed.), *The tourist experience: a new introduction*. London: Cassell.
- Hollinshead, K. (1999). Surveillance of the world of tourism: Foucault and the eye-of-power. *Tourism management*, 20, 7-23.
- Holo, S. (1999). *Museums and identity in democratic Spain*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- Hoogvelt, A. (1997). *Globalization and the Postcolonial world: the new political economy of development*. Palgrave: Hampshire.
- Horton, F., & Reynolds, D. (1971). Effects of urban spatial structure on individual behavior. *Economic geography* (47), 36-48.
- Hourani, A. (1991). *A history of Arab peoples*. Cambridge MA.
- Hourani, A. (1962). *Arabic thought in the liberal age, 1798-1939*. London.
- Hourani, A. (1990). Conclusion: tribes and states in Islamic history. In P. Khoury, & J. Kostiner (Eds.), *Tribes and state formation in the Middle East* (pp. 303-312). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hourani, A., & Stern, S. (Eds.). (1970). *The Islamic city*. Oxford: Cassirer.
- Howard, P. (2003). *Heritage: management, interpretation, identity*. London: Continuum.
- Howell, G. (2006). *Gertrude Bell: Queen of the desert, shaper of nations*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Hubbard, P., Kitchin, R., & Valentine, G. (Eds.). (2004). *Key thinkers on space and place*. London: Sage Publications.
- Hübner, U. (1992). 'Amman before the Hellenistic Period. In A. Northedge, *Studies on Roman and Islamic 'Amman* (pp. 23-25). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hufford, M. (Ed.). (1994). *Conserving culture: a new discourse on heritage*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Huntington, S. (1996). *The clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Husni, M. (2007, August 1). Interview with Mohammad Husni (Director of the Department for Properties and Investment -GAM). (J. Shawash, Interviewer)
- Ibn Khaldun. (1958). *The Muqaddimah: an introduction to history*. (F. Rosenthal, Trans.) New York: Pantheon Books.

- Ibn Manthour. (1968 (1232-1311)). *Lisan al-Arab (the Arab Language dictionary)*. Beirut: Dar Sader.
- ICOMOS. (2008, January). *International charters for conservation and restoration*. Retrieved June 2008, from [icomos.org: http://www.international.icomos.org/charters/charters.pdf](http://www.international.icomos.org/charters/charters.pdf)
- IECA. (1978, November). Ministry of Construction, International Engineering Consultants Association. Preliminary study on the city centre development for Municipality of Amman, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Japan.
- Inam, A. (2002). Meaningful urban design: teleological/ catalytic/ relevant. *Journal of urban design* , 7 (1).
- International Bank for Reconstruction and Development & International Finance Corporation. (2006). *Country assistance strategy for the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan for the period FY2006-FY2010*. Report No. 35665-JO: World Bank.
- Jakobson, R. (1960). Closing Statements: Linguistics and Poetics. In T. A. Sebeok, *Style In Language* (pp. 350-377). Cambridge : MIT Press.
- Jameson, F. (1991). *Postmodernism, or the cultural logic of late capitalism*. London: Verso.
- Jansen, G. H. (1978). *Militant Islam*. London: Penguin.
- JARA. (2008). *Souk Jara*. Retrieved November 2010, from [jara-jordan.com: http://www.jara-jordan.com/souk.html](http://www.jara-jordan.com/souk.html)
- JCSR. (2007). *Democratic transformation and political reform in Jordan: national public opinion poll #5*. Amman: Jordan Center for Social Research.
- Jenkins, R. (2002). *Foundations of sociology: towards a better understanding of the human world*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Jenkins, R. (2004). *Social identity*. Oxon: Routledge.
- Jensen, D. (2008). Confirmability. In L. Given (Ed.), *The SAGE encyclopedia of qualitative research methods* (p. 112). Los Angeles: SAGE Publishing.
- Jensen, D. (2008). Credibility. In L. Given (Ed.), *The SAGE encyclopedia of qualitative research methods* (pp. 138-139). Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.
- Jensen, D. (2008). Dependability. In L. Given (Ed.), *The SAGE encyclopedia of qualitative research methods* (pp. 208-209). Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.
- Jensen, D. (2008). Transferability. In L. Given (Ed.), *The SAGE encyclopedia of qualitative research methods* (p. 886). Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.
- Johns, J. (1994). The Longue Duree: State and settlement strategies in Southern Transjordan across the Islamic centuries. In E. Rogan, & T. Tell (Eds.), *Village, Steppe and State: the social origins of modern Jordan* (pp. 1-31). London & New York: British Academis Press.
- Johnson, N. (2000). Historical geographies of the present. In B. Graham, & C. Nash (Eds.), *Modern historical geographies* (pp. 251-272). Harlow: Prentice Hall.
- Johnson, R. (1996). What is cultural studies anyway? In J. Storey (Ed.), *What is cultural studies?* (pp. 75-114). London: Arnold .
- Jordan Center for Social Research. (2007). *Democratic transformation and political reform in Jordan: National public opinion poll No.5*. Amman: Jordan Center for Social Research.
- Jordan Information Bureau. (2007). www.jordanembassyus.org. (Embassy of Jordan (Washington, D.C.)) Retrieved October 2007, from <http://www.jordanembassyus.org/new/jib/factsheets/>
- Jordan Times . (2008, August 1). Illegal market flourishes despite concerted efforts (Taylor Luck). *Jordan Times* .
- Jordan Times. (2005, December 4). IPR faces uphill struggle to counter pirated goods (Jafar Irshaidat). *Jordan Times* .

- Jordan Times. (2008, November 20). Microsoft wants Jordan to further curb software piracy (Mohammad Ghazal). *Jordan Times* .
- Kain, R. (1981). Conservation and planning in France: policy and practice in the Marais, Paris. In R. Kain (Ed.), *Planning for conservation: an international perspective*. London: Mansell.
- Kammen, M. (1991). *Mystic chords of memory: the transformation of tradition in American culture*. New York : Knof.
- Kana'an, R. (1993). Patronage and style in mercantile residential architecture of Ottoman Bilad al-Sham: the Nablus region in the nineteenth century (Master's thesis of Philosophy in Oriental studies). England: Oxford University.
- Kane, S. (2003). The politics of archaeology and identity in a global context. In S. Kane (Ed.), *The politics of archaeology and identity in a global context*. Boston: Archaeological Institute of America.
- Kaplan, F. (Ed.). (1994). *Museums and the making of 'ourselves': the role of objects in national identity*. London: Leicester University Press.
- Karpat, K. (1991, October). Review: A peace to end all peace (the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the creation of the modern Middle East. by David Fromkin). *The Journal of Military History* , 55 (4), pp. 546-547.
- Katz, K. (2001). *Holy places and national spaces: Jerusalem under Jordanian rule*. PhD dissertation, Department of Middle Eastern Studies: New York University.
- Katz, K. (2003). Legitimizing Jordan as the Holy Land: Papal pilgrimages. *Comparative studies in South Africa, Asia and the Middle East* , 23, 181-9.
- Kawar, W. (2009, March 10). Interview with Widad Kawar. (J. Shawash, Interviewer)
- Kennedy, H. (1985). The last century of Byzantine Syria. *BF* , 10, 141-183.
- Kennet, W. (1972). *Preservation*. London: Temple Smith.
- Khalidi, R., Anderson, L., Muslih, M., & Simon, R. S. (Eds.). (1991). *The origins of Arab nationalism*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Khalidi, T. (1981). Some Classical Islamic Views of the City. In W. al-Qadi (Ed.), *Studia Arabica and Islamica: Festshrift for Ihsan 'Abbas*. Beirut.
- Khoury, P., & Kostiner, J. (1990). Introduction. In P. Khoury, & J. Kostiner (Eds.), *Tribes and state formation in the Middle East* (pp. 1-22). Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- King Abdullah II. (2004, November 9). *The Amman Message*. Retrieved September 2010, from <http://ammanmessage.com>:
http://ammanmessage.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=16&Itemid=30
- King, G. (1955). *The final report of the United Nations field town planner (edited and approved by M. Lock)*. United Nations, Amman.
- King, L., & Colledge, R. (1978). *Cities, space, and behavior*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.
- Kingston, P. (1994). Breaking the patterns of the Mandate: economic nationalism and State formation in Jordan, 1951-57. In E. Rogan, & T. Tell (Eds.), *Village, steppe and State: the social origins of modern Jordan* (pp. 186-216). London: British Academic Press.
- Kingston, P. (2001). Wasfi al-Tall and economic reform in Jordan, 1962-67. In T. Tell (Ed.), *The resilience of Hashemite rule: politics and the state in Jordan, 1946-67* (Vol. 25, p. 123). Amman: Les Cahiers du CERMOC.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (1998). *Destination culture: tourism, museums and heritage*. Berkley: University of California Press.
- Kliot, N., & Soffer, A. (1986). The emergence of a metropolitan core area in a new state - the case of Jordan. *Asian and African studies* , 20 (2), 217-32.

- Knecht, M., & Niedermüller, P. (2002). The politics of cultural heritage: an urban approach. *Ethnologia Europea* , 32 (2), 89-104.
- Kohn, M. (2006, June). *Colonialism*. (E. N. Zalta, Ed.) Retrieved February 2008, from The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy : <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2006/entries/colonialism/>
- Kolaghassi, R. (2007, August 20). Interview with Ra'ed Kolaghassi. (J. Shawash, Interviewer)
- Kuhn, T. S. (1962). *The structure of scientific revolutions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kurin, R. (2004). Safeguarding intangible cultural heritage in the 2003 UNESCO Convention: a critical appraisal. *Museum international* , 56 (1-2), 66-76.
- Lagopoulos, A. P. (1973). *Structural urbanism: the settlement as a system (in Greek)*. Athens: Technical Chamber of Greece.
- Lamar, H., & Thompson, L. (Eds.). (1981). *The frontier in history: North America and southern Africa compared*. New Haven: CT.
- Lapidus, I. (1967). *Muslim cities in the later Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Larkham, P. (1996). *Conservation and the city*. London: Routledge.
- Larkham, P. (1995). Heritage as planned and conserved. In D. Herbert (Ed.), *Heritage, tourism and society*. London: Mansell.
- Law of Planning of Cities, Villages, and Buildings No. 79. (1979, July 16). *Official Gazette* , p. 1394.
- Lawson, B. (2001). *The language of space*. Oxford: Architectural Press.
- Layne, L. (1989). The dialogics of tribal self-representation in Jordan. *American Ethnologist* , 16 (1), 24-39.
- League of Arab States. (1945, March 22). *Pact of the League of Arab States*. Retrieved September 2010, from <http://avalon.law.yale.edu>: http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/arableag.asp
- Ledrut, R. (1973). *Les images de la ville*. Paris: Anthropos.
- Lees, L., Slater, T., & Wyly, E. (2008). *Gentrification*. New York: Routledge.
- Lefebvre, H. (1974). *The Production of Space*. (D. Nicholson-Smith, Trans.) Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Lerner, D. (1958). *The passing of traditional society: modernizing the Middle East*. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press.
- Lewis, N. (1987). *Nomads and settlers in Syria and Jordan, 1800-1980*. Cambridge: Cambridge Middle East Library.
- Liddell, H. G., & Scott, R. (2005). *Semiotics (σημειωτικός)*. Retrieved November 2010, from <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu>: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.04.0057:entry%3Dshmeiwtko/s>
- Little, W., Fowler, H., & Coulson, J. (1983). *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Little, J., & Naidoo, R. (2004). White past, multicultural present: heritage and national stories. In H. Brocklehurst, & R. Phillips (Eds.), *History, nationhood and the question of Britain*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Livingstone, D. N. (1992). *The geographical tradition*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Local Government Correspondent. (1956, February 28). Ring road carried by the roofs of flats: British firm's plan for Amman. *Manchester Guardian* .
- Lock, M. (1958). Town planning in the Middle East with special reference to Iraq and Jordan. *Town and country planning summer school report of proceedings* (pp. 154-76). London: Town Planning Institute.
- Lotman, M. (2002). Atomistic versus holistic semiotics. *Sign Systems Studies* , 30 (2), 513-526.

- Lowenthal, D. (1998). *The heritage crusade and the spoils of history*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lowenthal, D. (1985). *The past is a foreign country*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lucas, R. E. (2005). *Institutions and the politics of survival in Jordan*. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Lucas, R. (2008). Side effects of regime building in Jordan: the state and the nation. *Civil wars* , 10 (3), 281-293.
- Lynch, K. (1960). *The image of the city*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Lynch, M. (2002). Jordan's identity and interests. In S. Telhami, & M. Barnett (Eds.), *Identity and foreign policy in the Middle East* (pp. 26-57). New York: Cornell University Press.
- Ma'aytah, Q. (2010, October 12). Interview with Qais Ma'aytah. (J. Shawash, Interviewer)
- MacAdam, H. I. (1992). The history of Philadelphia in the Classical period. In A. Northedge, *Studies in Roman and Islamic 'Amman* (pp. 27-45). Oxford: University of Oxford Press.
- MacCannell, D. (1973). Staged authenticity: arrangements of social space in tourist settings. *American journal of sociology* , 79 (3), 589-603.
- MacCannell, D. (1976). *The tourist: a new theory of the leisure class*. New York: Schocken.
- Macdonald, S. (2003). Museums, national, postnational and transcultural identities. *Museum and society* , 1 (1), 1-16.
- Macdonald, S. (2006). Undesirable heritage: Fascist material culture and historical consciousness in Nuremberg. *International journal of heritage studies* , 12 (1), 9-28.
- Macdonald, S., & Fyfe, G. (Eds.). (1996). *Theorizing museums*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Maffi, I. (2005). La fabrication des frontieres nationales dans les manuels scolaires jordaniens. *A contrario* , 3 (2), 26-44.
- Maffi, I. (2002). New museographic trends in Jordan: the strengthening of the nation. In G. Joffe (Ed.), *Jordan in transition: 1990-2000*. London: Hurst and Company.
- Maffi, I. (2009). The emergence of cultural heritage in Jordan: the itinerary of a colonial invention. *Journal of social archaeology* , 9 (1), 5-34.
- Malcolm-Davies, J. (2004). Borrowed robes: the educational value of costumed interpretation at historic sites. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* , 10 (3), 277-293.
- Malkawi, F. (1996). *Hidden structures: an ethnographic account of the planning of Greater Amman*. PhD dissertation. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.
- Malkawi, M. (2008, February 20). Café of Balat al-Rasheed: the guardian of authenticity in the downtown. *Al-Ghad (newspaper)* .
- Mann, M. (1989). The autonomous power of the state: its origins, mechanisms, and results. In J. Hall (Ed.), *States in history* (pp. 109-136). Oxford.
- Mann, M. (Ed.). (1983). *The Macmillan student encyclopedia of sociology*. London: Macmillan.
- Marçais, G. (1945). La conception des villes dans l'Islam. *Revue d'Alger* , 2, 517-33.
- Marçais, G. (1940). L'urbanisme musulman. *5e Congres de la Federation des Societes Savantes de l'Afrique du Nord*. Algiers.
- Marçais, W. (1961). *L'Islamisme et la vie urbaine: Articles et conferences*. Paris: Editions Adrien-Maisonneuve.
- Marcuse, H. (1964). *One dimensional man: studies in the ideology of advanced industrial society*. Boston: Beacon Press.

- Marcuse, P. (2003, September). *Public Space in a time of shrinkage*. Retrieved February 2008, from The threats to publicly usable space in a time of contraction: <http://www.tu-cottbus.de/BTU/Fak2/TheoArch/Wolke/eng/Subjects/031/Marcuse/marcuse.htm>
- Marty, M. (1988). Fundamentalism as a social phenomenon. *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* , 42 (2), 15-29.
- Marx, E., & Shmueli, A. (Eds.). (1984). *The changing Bedouin*. New Brunswick (USA) and London (UK): Transaction Books.
- Masarwa, T. (2009, July 6). Interview with Tareq Masarwa. (J. Shawash, Interviewer)
- Maslow, A. (1943). A Theory of Human Motivation. *Psychological Review* , 50 (4), 370-396.
- Mason, R. (2004). Devolving identities: Wales and Scotland and their national museums. In H. Brocklehurst, & R. Phillips (Eds.), *History, identity and the question of Britain*. New York: Palgrave.
- Massad, J. (2001). *Colonial effects: the making of national identity in Jordan*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Massignon, L. (1920). Les corps de metiers et la cite Islamique. *Revue Internationale de Sociologie* , 28, 473-87.
- McCrone, D., Morris, A., & Kiely, R. (1995). *Scotland the brand: the making of Scottish heritage*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- McIntosh, A., & Prentice, R. (1999). Affirming authenticity: consuming cultural heritage. *Annals of tourism research* , 26 (3), 589-612.
- McIntosh, A., & Prentice, R. (2004). Tourist appreciation of Maori culture in New Zealand. *Tourism management* , 25 (1), 1-15.
- McIntyre, D., & Wehner, K. (Eds.). (2001). *National museums: negotiating histories*. Canberra: National Museum of Australia.
- McLean, F. (2006). Introduction: heritage and identity. *International journal of heritage studies* , 12 (1), 3-7.
- McLean, F. (Ed.). (2005). Museums and national identity. *Museum and society* , 3 (1).
- McLean, F., & Cooke, S. (2000). Communicating national identity: visitor perceptions of the museum of Scotland. In J. Fladmark (Ed.), *Museums and cultural identity: shaping the image of nations*. Shaftesbury: Donhead.
- McLean, F., & Cooke, S. (2003). Constructing the identity of a nation: the tourist gaze at the museum of Scotland. *Tourism, culture and communication* , 4, 153-62.
- McLean, F., & Cooke, S. (2003). The national symbol of Scotland: a symbol for a new Scotland? *Scottish affairs* , 45 (Autumn), 111-27.
- McQuitty, A. (1998). Houses of the Ottoman Period in Jordan. In S. Ireland, & W. Bechhoefer (Ed.), *The Ottoman House, papers from the Amasya symposium, 24-27 September 1996. BIAA monograph* 26. The British Institute of Archeology at Ancara and the University of Warwick.
- MEEM. (2006). *Downtown Amman market study*. Amman: Urban Workshop & Middle East Engineering Management.
- Merriman, N. (1991). *Beyond the glass case*. Leicester: Reaktion Books.
- Meskel, L. (2003). Pharaonic legacies: postcolonialism, heritage and hyperreality. In S. Kane (Ed.), *The politics of archaeology and identity in a global context*. Boston: Archaeological Institute of America.
- Meskel, L. (2002). The intersections of identity and politics in archaeology. *Annual review of anthropology* , 31, 279-301.
- Messaris, P. (1994). *Visual 'literacy': image, mind and reality*. Boulder: Westview Press .

- Migdal, J. (1985). A model of state-society relations. In H. Wiarda (Ed.), *New directions in comparative politics* (p. 47). Boulder: Weatherhead Center for International Affairs.
- Miller, A. G. (1972). *Social psychology of psychological research*. London: Collier - MacMillan.
- Miller, P. (2008). Objectivity. In L. Given (Ed.), *The SAGE encyclopedia of qualitative research methods* (pp. 572-573). Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.
- Miller, P. (2008). Validity. In L. Given (Ed.), *The SAGE encyclopedia of qualitative research methods* (pp. 909-910). Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.
- Miller, R. L., Acton, C., Fullerton, D. A., & Maltby, J. (2002). *SPSS for social scientists*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mills, C. W. (1959). *The sociological imagination*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ministry of Awqaf and Islamic Affairs. (2010, NA). *Department of Tourism and Islamic Antiquities*. Retrieved November 2010, from awqaf.gov.jo:
http://www.awqaf.gov.jo/pages.php?menu_id=56&local_type=0&local_id=0&local_details=0&local_details1=0&localsite_branchname=Awqaf
- Ministry of Municipal Affairs. (2010, NA). *Organizational structure of the Ministry of Municipal Affairs*. Retrieved November 2010, from mma.gov.jo:
<http://www.mma.gov.jo/Ministry/MinistryOrg.aspx#q>
- Ministry of Planning. (1986). *Five year plan for economic and social development 1986-1990*. Amman: Ministry of Planning.
- Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities. (2006, August). *Historical summary about the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities*. Retrieved November 2010, from jordan.gov.jo:
<http://images.jordan.gov.jo/wps/wcm/connect/gov/%24%24%21%21941/%24%24%21%21946/%24%24%21%211087/%24%24%21%211405/%24%24%21%213995>
- Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities. (2004). *Jordan National Tourism Strategy 2004-2010*. Retrieved May 2008, from www.tourism.jo: <http://www.tourism.jo/PDFs/NTS%20Book.pdf>
- Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities. (2004, September). *Jordan: national tourism strategy 2004-2010*. Retrieved November 2010, from tourism.jo: <http://www.tourism.jo/PDFs/NTS%20Book.pdf>
- Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities. (2005, May). *Major indicators for tourism sector 2002-2005*. Retrieved November 2010, from tourism.jo: <http://www.tourism.jo/GuestBook/Statistics.asp>
- Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities. (2005). *Third tourism development project - secondary cities revitalization study: consolidated report*. Amman: The World Bank.
- Mitchell, D. (2003). *The right to the city: social justice and the fight for public space*. New York: The Guilford Press.
- Mitchell, T. (1988). *Colonizing Egypt*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Monroe, E. (1973). *Philby of Arabia*. Great Britain: Faber and Faber Ltd.
- Moore, G. (1983). Knowing about environmental knowing. In J. Pipkin, M. LaGory, & J. Blau (Eds.), *Remaking the city* (pp. 21-50). New York: SUNY Press.
- Moscovici, S. (1985). Innovation and minority influence. In S. Moscovici, G. Mugny, & E. V. Avermaet (Eds.), *Perspectives on minority influence* (pp. 9-53). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Mounin, G. (1970). *Introduction à la sémiologie*. Paris: Les éditions de Minuit.
- Mowljarlai, D., & Peck, C. (1987). Ngarinyin cultural continuity: a project to teach the young people the culture, including the re-painting of Wandjina rock art sites. *Australian Aboriginal studies*, 2, 71-73.
- Mowljarlai, D., Vinnicombe, P., Ward, G., & Chippendale, C. (1988). Repainting of images on rock in Australia and the maintenance of Aboriginal culture. *Antiquity*, 62, 690-696.

- Mugny, G., & Pérez, J. A. (1991). *The social psychology of minority influence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mulhern, F. (1995). The politics of Cultural Studies. *Monthly Review* , 32, 31-40.
- Mullally, S., & MacDonald, E. (2007). On national heritage, grand narratives, and 'making history fun': Founders' Hall, Prince Edward Island and the story of Canada. *International journal of heritage studies* , 13 (3), 288-294.
- Mumford, L. (1940). *The culture of cities*. London: Seckler & Warburg.
- Munasinge, H. (2005). The politics of the past: constructing a national identity through heritage conservation. *International journal of heritage studies* , 11 (3), 251-60.
- Munif, A.-R. (2006). *Story of a city: Amman in the fourties (Sirat madinah: Amman fi al-arba'inat, in arabic)*. Beirut: The Arab Cultural Centre, The Arab Institute for Research and Publishing.
- Munjeri, D. (2004). Tangible and intangible heritage: from difference to convergence. *Museum International* , 56 (1-2), 12-20.
- Nadel, S. F. (1951). *The foundations of social anthropology*. London: Cohen and West.
- Nagy, S., & Abu-Dayyeh, N. (2002). Village air for urban elites. *Expeditions* , 44 (2), 10-18.
- Nashkho, J. H. (1995). *Tarikh al-Sharkas wa al-Shishan fi liwa'ei Houran wa al-Balqa' (1878-1920) (The history of the Circassians and the Chechens in the two livas of Houran and Balqa', 1878-1920)*. Amman: Manshourat Lajnet Tarikh al-Urdun (Publications of Jordan History Committee).
- Nasser, R. (2004). Exclusion and the making of a Jordanian national identity: an analysis of school textbooks. *Naitonalism and Ethnic Politics* , 10 (2), 221-249.
- Newcombe, V. (1967, August). Planned development of Jordan. *Town and coutry planning xxxviii* , 413-15.
- Newman, A., & Mclean, F. (1998). Heritage builds communities: the application of heritage resources to the problems of social exclusion. *International journal for heritage studies* , 4 (4-3), 143-153.
- Nora, P. (1989). Between memory and history: les lieux de memoire. *Representations* , 26 (Spring), 7-24.
- Northedge, A. (1992). *Studies on Roman and Islamic Amman* (Vol. 1). Oxford: Oxford University Press (for the British Institute in Amman for Archaeology and History).
- Norum, K. E. (2008). Reality and multiple realities. In L. Given (Ed.), *The SAGE encyclopedia of qualitative research methods* (pp. 736-739). Los Angeles: SAGE.
- Nöth, W. (1990). *Handbook of Semiotics*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Ochsenwald, W. (1980). *The Hijaz Railroad*. Virginia: University Press of Virginia.
- Official Jordan History*. (2007, February 10). Retrieved from http://www.kinghussein.gov.jo/his_testament.html
- Official Gazette. (2005, March 31). Legislation for the protection of architectural and urban heritage. *The Official Gazette* , p. 1085.
- Ogden, R. (2008). Bias. In L. Given (Ed.), *The SAGE encyclopedia of qualitative research methods* (pp. 60-61). Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.
- Okin, S. M. (1999). *Is multiculturalism bad for women?* (J. Cohen, M. Howard, & M. Nussbaum, Eds.) New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Oliphant, L. (1880). *Land of Gilead*. Edinburgh.
- Parkin, F. (1972). *Class inequality and political order*. London: Granada .
- Pendlebury, J., Townshend, T., & Gilroy, R. (2004). The conservation of the English cultural built heritage: a force for social inclusion? *International journal of heritage studies* , 10 (1), 11-31.

- Pipkin, J. (1983). Structuralism and the uses of cognitive images in urban planning. In J. Pipkin, M. LaGory, & J. Blau (Eds.), *Remaking the city* (pp. 77-100). New York: SUNY Press.
- Plumb, J. (1969). *The death of the past*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Pocock, D., & Hudson, R. (1978). *Images of the urban environment*. London: Macmillan.
- Porteous, J. (1977). *Environment and behavior*. Reading: Addison-Wesley.
- Preissle, J. (2008). Ethics. In L. Given (Ed.), *The SAGE encyclopedia of qualitative research methods* (pp. 273-277). Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.
- Prentice, R. (2001). Experiential cultural tourism: museums and the marketing of the new romanticism of evoked authenticity. *Museum management and curatorship*, 19 (1), 5-26.
- Prentice, R. (2005). Heritage: a key sector in the "new" tourism. In G. Corsane (Ed.), *Heritage, museums and galleries: an introductory reader*. London: Routledge.
- Prentice, R. (1998). Recollections of museum visits: a case study of remembered cultural attraction visiting on the Isle of Man. *Museum management and curatorship*, 17 (1), 41-64.
- Qassem, Z. (1998). *Children of the citadel (Abna' Al-Qal'a, in arabic)*. Beirut: The Arab Institute for Research and Publishing.
- Rafi', M. (2002). *Zakirat al-Madinah (Memory of the City)*. Amman: Hussein Cultural Center.
- Rainwater, L. (1966). Fear and the house-as-heaven in the lower class. *Journal of the American Institute of planners* (32), 23-31.
- Ramberg, B., & Gjesdal, K. (2005, December). *Hermeneutics*. (E. N. Zalta, Ed.) Retrieved February 2008, from The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy : <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2005/entries/hermeneutics/>
- Rapaport, A. (1983). *Meaning of the built environment: a nonverbal communication approach*. London: Sage Publications.
- Rees, D. G. (2001). *Essential statistics: texts in statistical science*. Boca Raton, FL: Chapman & Hall/CRC.
- Rida, S. (2007, July 30). Interview with Rida sisters. (J. Shawash, Interviewer)
- Rifai, T. (1996). Amman City Center: Typologies of Architecture and Urban Space. In J. Hanoyyer, & S. Shami (Eds.), *Amman: the City and its Society* (pp. 132-140). Beirut: CERMOC.
- Ritzer, G. (2007). *Modern sociological theory*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Robinson, G. (1998). Defensive democratization in Jordan. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 30 (3), 387-410.
- Rodinson, M. (1974). The Western image and Western studies of Islam. In J. Schacht, & C. E. Bosworth (Eds.), *The Legacy of Islam* (pp. 9-62). Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Rogan, E. (1994). Bringing the state back: the limits of Ottoman rule in Jordan, 1840-1910. In E. Rogan, & T. Tell (Eds.), *Village, steppe and state: the social origins of modern Jordan* (pp. 32-57). London, New York: British Academic Press.
- Rogan, E. (1999). *Frontiers of the State in the late Ottoman Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rogan, E. (1996). The making of a capital: Amman 1918-1928. In J. Hannoyer, & S. Shami (Eds.), *Amman: the city and its society* (pp. 89-107). Amman: CERMOC.
- Rollefson, G. (1997). Prehistoric Jordan. In *The Oxford encyclopedia of archaeology in the Near East* (Vol. 5, pp. 226-31). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rollefson, G., Simmons, A., & Kafafi, Z. (1992). Neolithic cultures at 'Ain Ghazal, Jordan. *Journal of field archeology*, 19 (4), 443-470.
- Rose, N. (1989). *Governing the soul: the shaping of the private self*. London: Routledge.

- Rosensweig, R., & Thelen, D. (1998). *The presence of the past: popular uses of history in American life*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Rowan, Y., & Baram, U. (2004). *Marketing heritage: archaeology and the consumption of the past*. Walnut Creek: AltaMira.
- Roy, O. (1995). *The failure of political Islam*. London: I. B. Tauris.
- Rozwadowski, J. (2010, May 14). *Nymphaeum, Amman*. Retrieved September 2010, from flickr.com: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/9549670@N05/4607849141/sizes/o/in/photostream/>
- Ruane, J. M. (2005). *Essentials of research methods: a guide to social science research*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Sachdev, I., & Bourhis, R. Y. (1984). Minimal majorities and minorities. *European journal of social psychology*, 14, 35 - 52.
- Sachdev, I., & Bourhis, R. Y. (1991). Power and status differentials in minority and majority group relations. *European journal of social psychology*, 21, 1 - 24.
- Sachdev, I., & Bourhis, R. Y. (1985). Social categorization and power differentials in group relations. *European journal of social psychology*, 15, 415 - 434.
- Sachdev, I., & Bourhis, R. Y. (1987). Status differentials and intergroup behaviour. *European journal of social psychology*, 17, 277 - 293.
- Sack, R. D. (1997). *Homo geographicus*. The Johns Hopkins Press Ltd.: London.
- Sack, R. (1992). *Place, modernity and the consumer's world*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Saeed, A. (2007). Trends in contemporary Islam: a preliminary attempt at a classification. *The Muslim World*, 91, 395-404.
- Sahouris. (2007, August 22). Perception of the family of the downtown and their practices in the city. (J. Shawash, Interviewer)
- Said, E. (2003). *Orientalism: Western conceptions of the Orient*. London: Penguin Classics.
- Samawi, J. (2009, June 13). Interview with Jiryes Samawi (Secretary General at the Ministry of Culture). (J. Shawash, Interviewer)
- Samuel, R. (1994). *Theatres of memory: past and present in contemporary culture* (Vol. 1). London: Verso.
- Sanders, C. (Ed.). (2004). *The Cambridge Companion to Saussure*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.
- Sarkis, H. (2005). Civic pride. In J. Busquets (Ed.), *Aleppo: rehabilitation of the old city* (pp. 33-37). Cambridge: Harvard University Graduate School of Design.
- Sarup, M. (1993). *An introductory guide to post-structuralism and postmodernism*. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Saudi Commission for Tourism and Antiquities. (2008). *Why should we conserve architectural heritage? (Limatha al-ihitimam bil-turath al-umrani? In Arabic)*. Retrieved November 2010, from http://www.scta.gov.sa/Museums/Pages/urban_heritage.aspx
- Saussure, F. d. ([1916] 1974). *Course in general linguistics*. (W. Baskin, Trans.) London: Fontana-Collins.
- Sauvaget, J. (1941). *Alep: essai sur le developpement d'une grande ville Syrienne, des origines au milieu du XIXe siecle*. Paris.
- Schwedler, J. (2001). Islamic identity: myth, menace, or mobilizer? *SAIS review*, 21 (2), 1-17.
- Sears, D., Freedman, J., & Peplau, L. (1995). *Social psychology*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.
- Sebeok, T. A. (1960). *Style in language*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

- Seidman, S. (1997). *Difference troubles: queering social theory and sexual politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shaw, S. (1978). The Ottoman Census System and Population, 1831-1914. *IJMES* (9), 325-348.
- Shaw, S., & Shaw, E. K. (1985). *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* (Vol. 2). Cambridge.
- Shaw, W. (2003). *Possessors and possessed: museums, archaeology and the visualization of history in the late Ottoman Empire*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Shawash, J. (2003). *Architecture in Amman during the Emirate of Transjordan, 1921-1946 (Masters Thesis)*. Amman: University of Jordan.
- Shields, R. (1997). Spatial stress and resistance: social meanings and spatialization. In G. Benko, & U. Stronhmayer (Eds.), *Space and social theory: interpreting modernity and postmodernity* (pp. 186-202). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Shils, E. (1981). *Tradition*. London: Faber and Faber.
- Shryock, A. (1997). *Nationalism and the genealogical imagination: oral history and textual authority in tribal Jordan*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Shteivi, M. (2007, February 6). Did the Middle Class disappear? *al-Arab al-Yawm* , p. 24.
- Shteivi, M. (2007, July 17). Formation of collective identity in the Jordanian society. (J. Shawash, Interviewer)
- Shteivi, M. (2005). The class structure of the Jordanian society. *Abhath al-Yarmouk (Yarmouk Research)* , 21 (3), 482-506.
- Sieverts, T. (1967). Perceptual images of the city of Berlin. In E. Brill (Ed.), *Urban core and inner city* (pp. 282-85). Leiden: University of Leiden.
- Simmel, G. (2004). *Philosophy of money (1900)*. (D. Frisby, Ed., & T. Bottomore, Trans.) London: Routledge.
- Simmel, G. (1964). The metropolis and mental life (1903). In K. H. Wolff (Ed.), *The sociology of Georg Simmel*. New York: Free Press.
- Simmel, G. (1950). *The sociology of Georg Simmel*. (K. H. Wolff, Ed.) New York: Free Press.
- Sinou, A. (1999). Architectural and urban heritage: the example of the city of Ouidah, Benin. In I. Serageldin, & T. Tabaroff (Eds.), *Culture and development in Africa*. Washington D.C.: The International Bank for Reconstruction/ World Bank.
- Skovgaard, J. (1978). Conservation planning in Denmark. *Town Planning Review* , 49 (4), 519-39.
- Smith, D. W. (2008, Fall). *Phenomenology*. (E. N. Zalta, Ed.) Retrieved September 2008, from The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Fall 2008 Edition): <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2008/entries/phenomenology/>
- Smith, L. (2004). *Archaeological theory and the politics of cultural heritage*. London: Routledge.
- Smith, L. (2006). *Uses of heritage*. London: Routledge.
- Smith, L., Clarke, A., & Allcock, A. (1992). Teaching cultural tourism - some comments from the classroom. *Australian archaeology* , 34, 43-47.
- Smith, N. (1986). Gentrification, the frontier, and the restructuring of urban space. In N. Smith, & P. Williams (Eds.), *Gentrification of the city* (pp. 15-34). Winchester: Allen & Unwin Inc.
- Smith, P. (1974). *The dynamics of urbanism*. London: Hutchinson.
- SOED. (2007). *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- St. Pierre, E. A. (2009). Decentering voice in qualitative inquiry. In A. Y. Jackson, & L. A. Mazzei (Eds.), *Voice in qualitative inquiry: challenging conventional, interpretive and critical conceptions in qualitative research* (pp. 221-232). Oxon: Routledge.

- Stager, L., Greene, J., & Coogan, M. (Eds.). (2000). *The archaeology of Jordan and beyond: essays in honor of James A. Sauer*. Winona Lake, IA: Eisenbrauns.
- Stevenson, A. (Ed.). (2007). *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Stokols, D., & Altman, I. (Eds.). (1987). *Handbook of environmental psychology*. New York: Wiley.
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research*. London: Sage.
- Stungo, A. (1972). The Marlaux act 1962-72. *Journal of Royal Town Planning Institute* , 59, 357-62.
- Sturrock, J. (1986). *Structuralism*. London: Paladin .
- Swariyyeh, N. (1996). Amman and its vicinity in the period 1864-1921 (Amman wa jiwaruha khilal al-fatrah 1864-1921). In J. Hanoyyer, & S. Shami (Eds.), *Amman: the City and its Society*. Beirut: Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches sur le Moyen-Orient Contemporain (CERMOC).
- Tajbakhsh, K. (2001). *The promise of the city: space, identity, and politics in contemporary social thought*. Berkley: University of California Press.
- Tajfel, H. (1978). *Differentiation between social groups: Studies in the social psychology of intergroup relations*. London: Academic Press.
- Tajfel, H. (1981). *Human groups and social categories: studies in social psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tajfel, H. (Ed.). (1984). *The Social Dimension: European Developments in Social Psychology* (Vol. 1). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin, & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33-47). Monterey: Brooks-Cole.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1986). The social identity theory of inter-group behavior. In S. Worchel, & L. W. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall.
- Tapper, R. (1990). Anthropologists, historians, and tribespeople on tribe and state formation in the Middle East. In P. Khoury, & J. Kostiner (Eds.), *Tribes and state formation in the Middle East* (pp. 48-73). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Tapper, R. (1983). Introduction. In R. Tapper (Ed.), *The conflict of tribe and state in Iran and Afghanistan*. London: St. Martin's Press.
- Taylor, C. (1989). *Sources of the self*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Taylor, D. (1998). Identity and social policy: engagements with postmodern theory. *Journal of Social Policy* , 27, 329-50.
- Taylor, D. M., & Moghaddam, F. M. (1994). *Theories of intergroup relations: internal social psychological perspectives*. Westport: Praeger Publishers.
- Tbeishat, A. (2009, July 1). Interview with Abdulrazzaq Tbeishat (former Minister of Municipal Affairs). (J. Shawash, Interviewer)
- Teather, E., & Chow, C. (2003). Identity and place: the testament of designated heritage in Hong Kong. *International journal of heritage studies* , 9 (2), 93-115.
- Terry-Chandler, F. (1999). Heritage and history: a special relationship? *Midland History* , 24, 188-193.
- The Islamic Charity Centre. (2007). *The Islamic Charity Centre Brochure*. Amman.
- Tibi, B. (2005). *Islam between culture and politics*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Tibi, B. (2002). *The challenge of Fundamentalism: political Islam and the new world disorder*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Tibi, B. (1990). The simulataneity of the unsimulataneous: old tribes and imposed nation-states in the modern Middle East. In P. Khoury, & J. Kostiner (Eds.), *Tribes and state formation in the Middle East* (pp. 127-152). Berkley: University of California Press.
- Tilden, F. (1957). *Interpreting our heritage*. North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press.

- Tokoro, I. (2001). The grand shrine of Ise: the preservation by removal and renewal. In I. Serageldin, & E. Shluger (Eds.), *Historical cities and sacred sites: cultural roots for urban futures*. Washington D.C.: International Bank for Reconstruction/ World Bank.
- Tolman, E. (1948). Cognitive maps in rats and men. *Psychological review* (55), 189-208.
- Tribe, J. (1997). The indiscipline of tourism. *Annals of tourism research* , 24 (3), 638-657.
- Trigger, B. (1984). Alternative archaeologies: nationalist, colonialist, imperialist. *Man* , 19 (3), 355-70.
- Tristram, H. (1865). *Land of Israel*. London.
- Tunbridge, J., & Ashworth, G. (1996). *Dissonant heritage: the management of the past as a resource in conflict*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.
- Turnbridge, J. (1984). Whose culture to conserve? Cross-cultural reflections on political dominance and urban heritage conservation. *Canadian Geographer* , 28 (2), 171-180.
- Turner, J. C. (1982). Towards a cognitive redefinition. In H. Tajfel (Ed.), *Social identity and intergroup relations* (pp. 15-40). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- UNESCO. (2008, May). *Culture: cultural heritage*. Retrieved June 2008, from unesco.org: http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL_ID=2185&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html
- UNESCO. (2008, February). *Glossary*. Retrieved February 2008, from Unesco.org: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/glossary/>
- UNESCO. (2008, June). *UNESCO World Heritage Convention*. Retrieved June 2008, from unesco.org: <http://whc.unesco.org/?cid=175>
- UNESCO World Heritage Centre. (2005, March). *World heritage information kit*. Retrieved June 2008, from unesco.org: http://whc.unesco.org/documents/publi_infokit_en.pdf
- Unwin, T. (2000). A waste of space? Towards a critique of the social production of space... *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* , 25 (1), 11-29.
- UNWTO. (2009a, September). *Roadmap to recovery: tourism and travel, a primary vehicle for job creation and economic recovery*. Retrieved August 2010, from www.unwto.org: http://www.unwto.org/pdf/roadmap_EN.pdf
- UNWTO. (2004). *Tourism at world heritage cultural sites*. Retrieved August 2010, from pub.unwto.org: <http://pub.unwto.org/WebRoot/Store/Shops/Infoshop/Products/1117/9284404843.pdf>
- UNWTO. (2009b). *Tourism highlights*. Retrieved August 2010, from www.unwto.org: <http://unwto.org/facts/menu.html>
- Urban Workshop. (2005). *The Urban Strip*. Amman.
- Urry, J. (1995). *Consuming places*. London: Routledge.
- Urry, J. (1996). How societies remember the past. In S. Macdonald, & G. Fyfe (Eds.), *Theorising museums*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Urry, J. (1990). *The tourist gaze: leisure and travel in contemporary societies*. London: Sage publications.
- USAID. (2007, September). *Jordan tourism development project (Siyaha): year 2 planning and documentation annual report, September 2006 - August 2007*. Retrieved November 2010, from usaid.gov: http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PDACO730.pdf
- Uzzell, D., & Ballantyne, R. (2008). Heritage that hurts: interpretation in a postmodern world. In G. Fairclough, R. Harrison, e. J. John H. Ja, & J. Schofield (Eds.), *The heritage reader* (pp. 502-513). London: Routledge.
- van Voorden, F. (1981). The preservation of monuments and historic townscapes in the Netherlands. *Town Planning Review* , 52 (4), 433-54.

- van Zanten, W. (2004). Constructing new terminology for intangible cultural heritage. *Museum international* , 56 (1-2), 36-44.
- Waite, G. (2000). Consuming heritage: perceived historical authenticity. *Annals of tourism research* , 27 (4), 835-862.
- Walsh, K. (1992). *The representation of the past: museums and heritage in the post-modern world*. London: Routledge.
- Watenpaugh, K. D. (2006). *Being modern in the Middle East: revolution, nationalism, colonialism, and the Arab middle class*. Princeton, NY: Princeton University Press.
- Waterton, E. (2005). Whose sense of place? Reconciling archaeological perspectives with community values: cultural landscapes in England. *International journal of heritage studies* , 11 (4), 309-326.
- Watson, S., & Gibson, K. (Eds.). (1995). *Postmodern cities and spaces*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Watson, S., & Waterton, E. (2010). Heritage and community engagement. *International journal of heritage studies* , 16 (1-2), 1-3.
- Watts, J. H. (2008). Integrity in qualitative research. In L. Given (Ed.), *The SAGE encyclopedia of qualitative research methods* (pp. 440-441). Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.
- Weber, M. (1992). *Economy and society*. (G. Roth, & C. Wittich, Eds.) Berkeley: University of California Press.
- White, H. (1973). *Metahistory: the historical imagination in nineteenth century Europe*. Baltimore: John Hopkins.
- Wilson, M. (1987). *King Abdullah, Britain and the making of Jordan*. Cambridge.
- Winter, M. (1995). The Arab self-image as reflected in Jordanian textbooks. In A. Susser, & A. Shmuelewitz (Eds.), *The Hashemites in the modern Arab World: essays in the honour of the late Professor Uriel Dann* (pp. 207-220). London: Frank Cass.
- Wittrock, B. (2002). Modernity: one, none, or many? European origins and modernity as a global condition. In S. N. Eisenstadt (Ed.), *Multiple modernities* (pp. 31-60). New Brunswick (USA) and London (UK): Transaction Publishers.
- Wohl, R., & Strauss, A. (1958). Symbolic representation and the urban milieu. *American journal of sociology* (65), 523-32.
- Woodward, K. (1997). Introduction. In K. Woodward (Ed.), *Identity and Difference*. London: Sage.
- World Bank. (2004). *JO-Amman Development Corridor*. Retrieved January 2008, from <http://web.worldbank.org/external/projects/main?pagePK=64283627&piPK=73230&theSitePK=40941&menuPK=228424&Projectid=P081505>
- Wright, J. (1947). Terrae incognitae: the place of imagination in geography. *Annals of the association of American geographers* (37), 1-15.
- Wright, P. (1991). *A journey through ruins - the last days of London*. London: Hutchinson Radius.
- Wright, P. (1985). *On living in an old country*. London: Verso.
- Zar, J. H. (2009). *Biostatistical analysis*. London: Pearson Education.
- Zerubavel, E. (1997). *Social mindscapes: an invitation to cognitive sociology* . Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Zubaida, S. (2006). Max Weber's The City and the Islamic City. *Max Weber Studies* , 6 (1), 111-118.

Annex 1: Findings of topic analysis of articles relating to al-Balad in three Jordanian newspapers

Table 1 : al-Rai newspaper - analysis of topics related to the keyword 'wasat al-balad' (town centre) for the years 2004-2008.

topic	Memory/ history	Culture & cultural events	Transportation / roads	Commerce Formal	Security, safety and environment	GAM/ actions and projects	Cafes	Commerce Informal	Demonstrations	Restaurants	Walking in downtown/ public space	Heritage and museums	Tourism	Religious practices	Crafts, services and metiers	Archeology	Cinemas of downtown	Poverty	Immigrants	Year total	
2008	17	14	12	8	11	10	3	4	3	0	2	3	1	2	1	0	1	0	0	92	
2007	11	20	12	12	4	7	7	3	0	3	4	0	0	2	2	2	1	0	0	91	
2006	7	3	6	7	3	4	3	3	0	2	2	2	2	2	0	0	0	1	0	47	
2005	8	3	6	4	8	6	3	4	6	3	1	2	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	59	
2004	0	3	1	3	3	2	1	0	3	2	0	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	24	
Total	43	43	37	34	29	29	17	14	12	10	9	9	9	8	7	4	3	2	2	1	313

Analysis summary

Analyzed		313
Wasat al-Balad other than Amman		84
Abdali project referred to as Wasat el-Balad		3
Repeated topics		209
Disregarded Misc		9
Total		609

Table 2: al-Ghad newspaper - analysis of topics related to the keyword 'wasat al-balad' (town centre) for the years 2004-2008.

topic	Transpo rtation/ roads	Commerce Formal	Culture & cultural events	GAM/ actions and projects	Security and environment	Demonstrati ons	Memory / history	Tourism	Commerc e Informal	Heritage and museums	Religious practices	Cafes	Restaura nts	walking in downtow n/ public space	Immigrants	Poverty	Crafts, services and metiers	Archeolo gy	Cinemas of downtown	Year total
2008	13	14	15	12	18	8	10	3	6	3	3	6	4	1	1	2	0	1	0	120
2007	17	8	18	12	2	2	3	10	1	8	4	2	2	4	0	2	0	0	0	95
2006	14	14	7	4	4	7	0	2	3	0	1	1	0	0	4	1	2	0	0	64
2005	10	12	2	4	2	11	6	4	3	2	5	2	1	1	1	2	0	0	0	68
2004	3	8	3	1	3	0	5	0	4	2	1	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	35
Total	57	56	45	33	29	28	24	19	17	15	14	11	8	8	8	7	2	1	0	382

Analysis summary

Analyzed		382
Wasat al-Balad other than Amman		19
Abdali project referred to as Wasat al-Balad		2
Repeated topics		69
Disregarded Misc		9
Total		481

Table 3: Jordan Times - analysis of topics related to the keyword 'downtown' for the years 2004-2008

topic	Security and environment	Transportation/ roads	Commerce Formal	Demonstrations	Culture & cultural events	Commerce Informal	GAM/ actions and projects	Tourism	Memory/ history	walking in downtown/ public space	Immigrants	Poverty	Heritage and museums	Cafes	Archeology	Restaurants	Religious practices	Crafts, services and metiers	Cinemas of downtown	Year total
year																				
2008	15	6	7	6	3	4	3	5	6	2	0	2	1	0	0	2	1	0	0	63
2007	8	3	4	3	5	4	4	3	1	1	4	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	43
2006	16	1	3	4	4	2	4	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	40
2005	6	7	1	5	2	1	0	0	0	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	30
2004	2	2	4	1	2	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	19
Total	47	19	19	19	16	12	11	10	9	7	6	5	4	3	3	2	1	1	1	195

Analysis summary

Analyzed		195
Wasat al-Balad other than Amman		58
Abdali project referred to as Wasat al-Balad		13
Repeated topics		2
Disregarded Misc		9
Total		277

Annex 2: The survey questionnaire (English and Arabic versions)

A Study about Urban and Architectural Heritage in Downtown Amman

2009

Number of form:									
Introductory data									
1.	Governorate:				7.	Cluster:			
2.	Liwa:				8.	Block:			
3.	Qada:				9.	Building			
4.	Conglomeration:				10.	Residence:			
5.	Area:				11.	Number of family members:			
6.	Neighbourhood:				12.	Family serial number:			
	Visit result	First visit	Second visit	Third visit		Visit result	First visit	Second visit	Third visit
1.	Interview accomplished	1	2	3	6.	Permanently closed	1	2	3
2.	Interview partly accomplished	1	2	3	7.	Vacant	1	2	3
3.	Postponed	1	2	3	8.	Used for purpose other than residence	1	2	3
4.	No qualified person found	1	2	3	9.	Refused to answer			
5.	Temporary closed	1	2	3	10.	Other (define)			
Sequence of work									
Researcher:		Date:		Researcher #:					
Supervisor:		Date:		Supervisor #:					
Coder:		Date:							
Data input:		Date:		Data input #:					

Result of the visit:

1. Interview accomplished
2. Interview refused
3. Other (specify):

Good morning/ afternoon. I am from the Jordanian Centre for Social Studies, and we're doing a field survey on the issue of urban and architectural heritage in downtown Amman, which will be used towards a Doctorate thesis in Development Planning submitted to University College London, and I would like to confirm that all data required by this questionnaire is for academic and statistical purposes only, and not for any other purpose.

Gender: 1. Male 2. Female

#	Family members above 15 years old, starting with the oldest	Age	Family serial number																		
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
1.			1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2.			2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
3.			3	2	1	3	2	1	3	2	1	3	2	1	3	2	1	3	2	1	3
4.			4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2
5.			5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2
6.			6	5	4	3	2	1	6	5	4	3	2	1	6	5	4	3	2	1	6

Note for researcher:

Please put a circle around the applicable answer/s:

Are you willing to participate in this study?

1. Yes 2. No (End the interview)

Part One: Introduction			
101	Did you ever in your life go to the downtown?	1. Yes 2. No (go to 105) 5. I don't know 6. Refused to answer	<input type="checkbox"/>
102	How many times did you go to the downtown in the last year?	1. Daily – several times a week 2. Weekly – several times a month 3. Monthly – several times a year 4. Rarely 5. Never 6. Refused to answer	<input type="checkbox"/>
103	What transportation do you take to get to the downtown?	1. Service car 2. Taxi 3. Bus 4. Private car 5. Walking 6. Refused to answer	<input type="checkbox"/>
104	What was the importance of downtown as a hub of transportation for you when Raghadan Terminal was still in use?	1. Very important 2. Important 3. Somewhat important 4. A little important 5. Not important at all 6. Refused to answer	<input type="checkbox"/>
105	What means of transportation do you mostly use in your daily life?	1. Service car 2. Taxi 3. Bus 4. Private car 5. Walking 6. Refused to answer	<input type="checkbox"/>
106	Is downtown a place where you like to go?	1. I like very much 2. I like 3. I somewhat like 4. I like a little 5. I don't like at all 6. Refused to answer	<input type="checkbox"/>
107	In your opinion, what are the boundaries of downtown?		
	Answer:		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
108	In your opinion, what are the three most important landmarks in the downtown?		
	1)		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
	2)		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
	3)		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>

Part Two: Heritage							
201	Many people talk about heritage these days. What is your own understanding of heritage? (If the person finds it hard to answer, say: Heritage is generally defined as anything we inherit from our fathers and forbearers and wish to pass on to our children and progeny).						
	Answer:						<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
202	In your opinion, is heritage important?	1. Very important 2. Important 3. Somewhat important 4. A little important 5. Not important at all 6. Refused to answer					<input type="checkbox"/>
203	What are the reasons that make heritage important (or not important) for you?						
	Answer:						<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
204	Several reasons for the importance of heritage have been proposed. Following are some of these reasons. Please state your opinion in the importance of these reasons. To what extent do you think that:						
		Big extent	Moderate extent	Little extent	Not at all	I don't know	
1)	Heritage reminds us of our origins and gives our identity an historical continuation	1	2	3	4	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
2)	Heritage makes us feel we belong to a certain place	1	2	3	4	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
3)	Heritage provides an economical resource when used for tourism	1	2	3	4	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
205	Heritage manifests in several forms that range from the tangible (the material) on one hand, and the intangible (the moral/mental) on the other. In your opinion, what is the importance of the following forms of heritage? Please arrange them from the most important to the least.						
	Item	Arrangement					
1)	Customs and traditions and values						<input type="checkbox"/>
2)	Stories and wisdoms						<input type="checkbox"/>
3)	Clothing and embroidery and crafts						<input type="checkbox"/>
4)	Traditional buildings and old areas of the city						<input type="checkbox"/>
206	In your opinion, which of the following social groups is more attached to their heritage? Circle the appropriate answer.						
1)	The people of the Badia						<input type="checkbox"/>

2)	The people of the Village			
3)	The people of the City			
207	Heritage differs according to the period it belongs to. Are the following forms of heritage important in your opinion?			
1)	The private family heritage (across several generations)	Yes	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
2)	National heritage (Jordanian or Palestinian or Syrian for example and that can extend back to the time of the formation of the nation)	Yes	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
3)	Ethnic heritage (like the heritage belonging to the Arab nation or the Circassian heritage, and it could extent to the period of the formation of this heritage, like the Arab Revolt for example)	Yes	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
4)	Religious heritage (which represents the period of Islamic or Christian/Byzantine rule)	Yes	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
5)	The heritage of old civilizations (Roman or Ammonite for example)	Yes	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
208	In your opinion, which form of heritage of the ones listed above is the most important?			
	Answer:			<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
209	Heritage also differs according to the scale of the area it belongs to. Which is the most important one of the following forms of heritage in your opinion? Please select one.			
1)	Local heritage (belonging to a certain village or city)	<input type="checkbox"/>		
2)	National heritage (belonging to Jordan or to the country of origin)			
3)	The heritage of Bilad el-Sham (Greater Syria)			
4)	The heritage of the Arab Countries (Arab World)			
5)	The heritage of the Islamic Ummah (World)			
6)	The World heritage			
210	What is the place that you feel you belong to? (Not necessarily in Amman or Jordan)			
	Answer:			<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
211	What is the birthplace of your grandfathers?			
	Answer:			<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
212	In your opinion, what is the best use for heritage buildings? Please choose one.			
1)	Private use as a residence or an office	<input type="checkbox"/>		
2)	Restaurant or a café			
3)	Arts gallery or a museum			
4)	A school or a college			
5)	Other. Specify.			

Part Three: Downtown								
301	You might have heard that Greater Amman Municipality has dedicated Downtown Amman as a Heritage Centre. How much do you agree with the downtown being a heritage centre?				1. Agree very much 2. Agree 3. Neutral 4. Don't agree 5. Don't agree at all 6. Refused to answer			<input type="checkbox"/>
302	In your opinion, what are the three most important heritage landmarks in downtown?							
1)								<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
2)								<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
3)								<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
303	How much belonging do you feel to Amman?				1. Very strong belonging 2. Strong belonging 3. Moderate belonging 4. Weak belonging 5. No belonging at all 6. Refused to answer			<input type="checkbox"/>
Note: if 101 was answered by (No), then proceed to 401								
304	Please estimate the significance of the following functions of downtown in comparison to the rest of the city for your own personal life (not the people in general) at the present time:							
	<i>Use</i>	<i>Very Imp.</i>	<i>Imp.</i>	<i>Smwht Imp.</i>	<i>Not imp.</i>	<i>Not imp. at all</i>	<i>Rfsd. to answ.</i>	
1)	Downtown as a place for shopping from retail shops	1	2	3	4	6	7	<input type="checkbox"/>
2)	Downtown as a place of shopping from specialized markets such as vegetables, groceries, wholesale	1	2	3	4	6	7	<input type="checkbox"/>
3)	Downtown as a place of shopping from specialized markets such as gold jewellery	1	2	3	4	6	7	<input type="checkbox"/>
4)	Downtown as a place of shopping from specialized markets such as used goods such as clothing or furniture	1	2	3	4	6	7	<input type="checkbox"/>
5)	Downtown as a place of shopping from specialized markets such as books	1	2	3	4	6	7	<input type="checkbox"/>
6)	Downtown as a place for crafts and services such as	1	2	3	4	6	7	<input type="checkbox"/>

	tailors, barbers, electric equipment repairs, office services													
7)	Downtown as a place for restaurants	1	2	3	4	6	7	<input type="checkbox"/>						
8)	Downtown as a place of socializing	1	2	3	4	6	7	<input type="checkbox"/>						
9)	Downtown as a place for leisurely walking	1	2	3	4	6	7	<input type="checkbox"/>						
10)	Downtown as a place for cinema	1	2	3	4	6	7	<input type="checkbox"/>						
11)	Downtown as a place of archaeology and museums	1	2	3	4	6	7	<input type="checkbox"/>						
12)	Downtown as a place of cultural activities such as musical performances, art exhibitions, etc.	1	2	3	4	6	7	<input type="checkbox"/>						
13)	Downtown as a place of prayer	1	2	3	4	6	7	<input type="checkbox"/>						
14)	Downtown as a place for discussing public matters	1	2	3	4	6	7	<input type="checkbox"/>						
305	Was there ever a period in your life when you used to go downtown more often?	1. Yes 2. No (Go to question 307) 6. Refused to answer (go to question 307)						<input type="checkbox"/>						
306	How often did you go to downtown then?	1. Daily – several times a week 2. Weekly – several times a month 3. Monthly – several times a year 4. Rarely						<input type="checkbox"/>						
307	Do you have memories related to downtown?	1. Yes 2. No (Go to question 309) 6. Refused to answer (go to question 309)						<input type="checkbox"/>						
308	What are these memories?													
	Answer:							<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>						
309	In your opinion, what is the most important use of downtown for people in general (and not for you specifically)?													
	Answer:							<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>						

Part Four: the City

401	Please specify the frequency of your performance for the following activities, and the two places where you practice that activity the most with explaining their location. These activities might be located out of Amman or out of Jordan; they might be at home or even through the internet.			
	Activity	Activity repetition 1. Daily 2. Weekly 3. Monthly 4. Rarely 5. Don't practice	Two places where you practice the activity most frequently	Locations of the places
1)	Shopping for goods of everyday consumption (such as food)		1. 2.	1. 2.
2)	Shopping for goods of mid-long term consumption (such as clothing)		1. 2.	1. 2.
3)	Eating at restaurants		1. 2.	1. 2.
4)	Socializing (meeting people)		1. 2.	1. 2.
5)	Leisurely walking		1. 2.	1. 2.
6)	Cultural activities (such as musical performances, theatre, etc.)		1. 2.	1. 2.
7)	Discussing public matters		1. 2.	1. 2.
402	Do you usually pray	1. Individually and irregularly. 2. Individually and regularly. 3. Collectively and irregularly. 4. Collectively and regularly. 5. I don't practice (praying) – go to 404		<input type="checkbox"/>
403	What are the two places where you pray the most?	1. 2. 7. Refused to answer		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
404	Please name a place which in your opinion is the most significant heritage place (not necessarily in Amman or Jordan).	1. 7. Refused to answer		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>

Part Five: Personal Information			
501	What is the family envelope within which your weekly life revolves (excluding holiday visits)?	1. Nuclear family (mother father, husband/wife and the children, nonmarried siblings). 2. Direct extended family (grandparents, uncles/aunts, cousins, married siblings and their families). 3. Indirect extended family (family members of relation other than the mentioned above).	<input type="checkbox"/>
502	How important is belonging to the extended family is for you?	1. Very important 2. Important 3. Somewhat important 4. A little important 5. Not important at all	<input type="checkbox"/>
503	Think of your closest friends and companions outside the envelope of the direct family. What is the common denominator that binds you? You can choose more than one.	1. Work or studying 2. Belonging to the same extended family 3. Belonging to the same geographical origin (or ethnic origin) 4. Belonging to the same neighbourhood 5. Religious activities 6. A specific hobby 7. Belonging to a certain economical class 8. Other. Specify.	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
504	Would you describe yourself as a person who is traditional where you believe that traditions are the basis of society and you practice and preserve them, or contemporary whereby you refuse traditions and look for another way of life more suitable to the requirements of the present times?	1. Very traditional 2. Somewhat traditional 3. Neutral/variable 4. Somewhat contemporary 5. Very contemporary	<input type="checkbox"/>
505	How do you value your knowledge of the Jordanian history?	1. Excellent 2. Very good 3. Good 4. Weak 5. Very weak	<input type="checkbox"/>
506	What are the sources from which you learnt about the Jordanian history?	1. School 2. Radio and television 3. Internet 4. Books	<input type="checkbox"/>

		5. Family, friends and colleagues 6. Other. Specify.	
507	In their daily life in any country, people belong to several social groups and several levels of identity; such as the personal, like the identity of the father, the son or the husband; the professional or the academic; religious, ethnic, national; or the identity of belonging to a specific city or village for example. Please state the three most significant levels of identity for yourself.		
	First: Second: Third:		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
508	What was the frequency of travel in the period of your life when you travelled the most frequently?	1. Several times a month – monthly 2. Several times a year 3. Rarely 4. Never – go to 510	<input type="checkbox"/>
509	Where did you mostly travel? (You can choose more than one option)	1. Neighbouring Arab countries 2. Europe and the United States 3. Eastern Europe and Russia 4. Mid and East Asia 5. Other. Specify.	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
510	How well do you know languages other than Arabic? Such as:		
		<i>Excellent</i>	<i>Very Good</i>
		<i>Good</i>	<i>Weak</i>
		<i>Not at all</i>	
1)	English		<input type="checkbox"/>
2)	French		<input type="checkbox"/>
3)	Russain		<input type="checkbox"/>
4)	Other. Specify.		<input type="checkbox"/>
511	What is your language of preference for television, books and magazines?	1. Arabic 2. English 3. Both 4. Other. Specify.	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>

Part Six: Personal Data			
601	Age		
602	Gender	1. Male 2. Female	
603	Marital status	1. Single 2. Married 3. Other	
604	Highest education level	1. Illiterate/ somewhat literate 2. Primary school 3. Intermediate school 4. Vocational school 5. Secondary school 6. Intermediate diploma 7. Bachelor's degree 8. Higher diploma 9. Master's degree 10. PhD degree	
605	Where did you attain your highest education level?		
606	Do you work?	1. Yes 2. No – go to 610	
607	Work sector	1. Public 2. Private 3. Other. Specify	
608	Primary profession		
609	Can you please specify the place of work?		
610	Monthly income for the respondent (in Jordanian Dinar), (the income includes all rents and salaries)		
611	Monthly income for the family of the respondent		
612	What is your religion?	1. Muslim 2. Christian 3. Other. Specify	

Thank the respondent.

Telephone number:	
-------------------	--

**دراسة حول التراث الحضري والمعماري
في وسط مدينة عمان
2009**

رقم الاستمارة:									
البيانات التعريفية									
1.	المحافظة:	*	8.	رقم العنقود:	*	*	*	*	*
2.	اللواء:	*	7.	رقم البلوك:	*	*	*	*	*
3.	القضاء:	*	8.	رقم المبنى:	*	*	*	*	*
4.	اسم التجمع:		9.	رقم المسكن:			*	*	*
5.	اسم المنطقة:	*	10.	عدد أفراد الأسرة:	*		*	*	*
6.	اسم الحي:	*	11.	رقم الأسرة المتسلسل	*		*	*	*
نتيجة الزيارة									
	الزيارة الأولى	الزيارة الثانية	الزيارة الثالثة	نتيجة الزيارة	الزيارة الأولى	الزيارة الثانية	الزيارة الثالثة	الزيارة الأولى	الزيارة الثانية
1.	تمت المقابلة	1	2	3	6.	مغلق دائم	1	2	3
2.	تمت جزئياً	1	2	3	7.	خالي	1	2	3
3.	أرجئت	1	2	3	8.	مستعمل لغير السكن	1	2	3
4.	لا يوجد شخص مؤهل	1	2	3	9.	رفض المقابلة			
5.	مغلق مؤقت	1	2	3	10.	أخرى (حدد)			
مراحل العمل									
اسم الباحث:									
اسم المراقب:									
اسم المرمز:									
اسم مدخل البيانات:									
التاريخ: 2009 / /									
رقم مدخل البيانات: 2009 / /									

نتيجة الزيارة:

|_|_|

1. تمت المقابلة

2. رفض المقابلة

3. أخرى (حدد): —

صباح الخير/مساء الخير أنا من مركز الأردني للبحوث الاجتماعية نقوم بدراسة ميدانية حول التراث الحضري والمعماري في وسط مدينة عمان والذي سوف يستخدم لرسالة دكتوراه في تخطيط التنمية مقدمة لجامعة لندن وأود أنؤكد أن جميع المعلومات الواردة في هذه الاستمارة هي لأغراض أكاديمية وإحصائية بحتة وليس لأي غرض آخر.

الجنس 1. ذكر 2. أنثى

رقم المتسلسل للأسرة																			العمر	أفراد الأسرة ممن أعمارهم 15 سنة فأكثر ابتداءً بالأكبر سناً	رقم الفرد
19	18	17	16	15	14	13	12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1			
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			1
2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2			2
3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3			3
2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4			4
2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5			5
6	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6			6

ملاحظة للباحث/الباحثة :-

يرجى وضع دائرة حول الإجابة أو الإجابات التي تنطبق:

هل أنت على استعداد للمشاركة في هذه الدراسة؟

1. نعم 2. لا -- (إنه المقابلة)

القسم الأول: المقدمة

101	هل سبق في حياتك أن نزلت إلى وسط البلد في عمان؟	1. نعم 2. لا ← انتقل إلى 105 5. لا أعرف (لا تقرأ) 6. رفض الإجابة (لا تقرأ)	□
102	كم مرة نزلت إلى وسط البلد في السنة الأخيرة؟	1. يوماً – عدة مرات في الاسبوع 2. أسبوعياً – عدة مرات في الشهر 3. شهرياً – عدة مرات في السنة 4. نادراً 5. ابداً 6. رفض الإجابة (لا تقرأ)	□
103	ما هي وسيلة المواصلات التي تستخدمها عندما تنزل إلى وسط البلد؟	1. سرفيس 2. تكسي 3. باص 4. سيارة خاصة 5. مشياً على الأقدام 6. رفض الإجابة (لا تقرأ)	□
104	ما كانت أهمية وسط البلد كمركز للمواصلات بالنسبة إليك عندما كانت محطة رغدان فاعلة؟	1. مهم جداً 2. مهم 3. مهم نوعاً ما 4. مهم قليلاً 5. غير مهم ابداً 6. رفض الإجابة (لا تقرأ)	□
105	ما هي أكثر وسيلة مواصلات تستخدمها في حياتك اليومية؟	1. سرفيس 2. تكسي 3. باص 4. سيارة خاصة 5. مشي على الأقدام 6. رفض الإجابة (لا تقرأ)	□
106	هل وسط البلد هو مكان ترغب في الذهاب اليه؟	1. ارغب جداً 2. ارغب 3. ارغب نوعاً ما 4. ارغب قليلاً 5. لا ارغب 6. رفض الإجابة (لا تقرأ)	□

107 برأيك ما هي حدود وسط البلد ؟

□□□□□	
-------	--

108		برأيك ما هي أهم ثلاثة معالم في وسط البلد ؟
_____	_____	1
_____	_____	2
_____	_____	3

القسم الثاني: التراث

201	يتحدث الكثيرون عن التراث هذه الأيام. ما مفهومك الخاص للتراث؟ (إذا استصعب الجواب نقول: يعرف التراث بشكل عام بأنه أي شيء نرثه عن أبائنا وسلفنا ونحب أن نتركه لأولادنا وخلفنا).
-----	--

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

202	برأيك هل التراث هام؟	1. هام جداً 2. هام 3. غير هام 4. غير هام على الإطلاق 5. لا أعرف (لا تقرأ) ← انتقل الى 204 6. رفض الإجابة (لا تقرأ) ← انتقل الى 204
_____	_____	_____

203	ما هي أسباب أهمية (أو عدم أهمية) التراث بالنسبة إليك ؟
-----	--

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

204	لقد تم اقتراح العديد من الأسباب التي قد تجعل التراث هاماً لحياة الناس، فيما يلي بعض الأسباب أرجو أن تعطي رأيك في أهمية هذه الأسباب. الى أية درجة تعتقد أن
-----	---

	لا أعرف (لا تقرأ)	كلا على الاطلاق	درجة قليلة	درجة متوسطة	درجة كبيرة	
1. التراث يذكرنا بأصولنا ويعطي هويتنا استمرارية تاريخية	6	4	3	2	1	_____
2. التراث يشعرنا بالانتماء لمكان معين	6	4	3	2	1	_____
3. التراث يوفر مردود اقتصادي عند تسخيرها للسياحة	6	4	3	2	1	_____

205

يظهر التراث بأشكال عديدة تتراوح ما بين الأشياء الملموسة (المادية) والأشياء غير الملموسة (المعنوية أو الممارسات مثلاً).
برأيك ما أهمية أشكال التراث التالية ؟ يرجى ترتيبها من الأهم فالأقل أهمية.

البند	الترتيب	
1. عادات وتقاليد وقيم		<input type="text"/>
2. حكايات وحكم		<input type="text"/>
3. ملابس وتطريز وحرف		<input type="text"/>
4. مباني تقليدية ومناطق قديمة من المدينة		<input type="text"/>

206

برأيك أي من الفئات الاجتماعية التالية أكثر تمسكاً بالتراث (اقرأ). ضع دائرة حول الإجابة

الفئات	
1. أهل البادية	<input type="text"/>
2. أهل القرية	
3. أهل المدينة	

207

إن التراث يتنوع حسب الفترة الزمنية التي ينتمي إليها. هل أنواع التراث التالية مهمة بالنسبة إليك ؟

البند	نعم	لا	
1. التراث العائلي الخاص (ويمتد عبر عدة أجيال)	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
2. التراث الوطني (الأردني أو الفلسطيني أو السوري مثلاً ويمتد إلى تاريخ نشو الوطن)	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
3. التراث القومي أو الإثني (التراث العربي أو التراث الشركسي مثلاً ويمتد إلى أصول هذه القومية أو الأثنية والأحداث التي شكلتها كالثورة العربية الكبرى)	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
4. التراث الديني (يمثل فترة الحكم الإسلامي أو الفترة المسيحية)	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
5. تراث الحضارات القديمة (الرومانية أو العُمونية مثلاً)	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

208

برأيك ما هو أهم شكل من أشكال التراث المذكورة أعلاه؟

<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
----------------------	----------------------

209	إن التراث يتنوع حسب المنطقة التي ينتمي إليها. ما أهم أنواع التراث التالية بالنسبة إليك ؟ ضع دائرة حول رمز الإجابة.
-----	---

	البند
_	1. التراث المحلي (ينتمي إلى قرية أو مدينة معينة)
	2. التراث الوطني (ينتمي إلى الأردن أو إلى بلد الأصل)
	3. تراث بلاد الشام
	4. تراث الوطن العربي
	5. تراث الأمة الإسلامية
	6. التراث العالمي

210	ما هو أكثر مكان تشعر أنك تنتمي إليه ؟ وليس بالضرورة أن يكون في عمان أو حتى في الأردن. (مع توضيح موقع المكان).
-----	---

_ _ _ _	
---------	--

211	ما هو مسقط رأس أجدادك ؟ (مع توضيح الموقع).
-----	--

_ _ _ _	
---------	--

212	برأيك ما هو أفضل استخدام للمباني التراثية ؟ ضع دائرة حول رمز الإجابة.
-----	---

	الفئات
_ _	1. استخدام خاص كمسكن أو مكتب
	2. مطعم أو مقهى
	3. معرض فني أو متحف
	4. مدرسة / كلية
	5. أخرى حدد _____

القسم الثالث: وسط البلد

301	ربما سمعت أن الأمانة خصصت وسط البلد كمركز تراثي كم تتفق مع كون وسط البلد تراثياً؟	1. اتفق جداً 2. أتفق 3. محايد 4. لا أتفق 5. لا أتفق بتاتاً 6. رفض الإجابة (لا تقرأ)
_		

302	برأيك ما هي أهم ثلاثة معالم تراثية في وسط البلد؟	1: — 2: — 3: —	لـ لـ لـ
-----	--	----------------------	----------------

303	كم تشعر بالانتماء لمدينة عمان ؟	1. انتماء قوي جداً 2. انتماء قوي 3. انتماء متوسط 4. انتماء ضعيف 5. لا اشعر بالانتماء ابداً 6. رفض الإجابة (لا تقرأ)	لـ
-----	---------------------------------	--	----

ملاحظة: للذي أجاب على سؤال 101 ب (لا) يرجى الانتقال الى سؤال 401

304	أرجو أن تقدر أهمية الاستخدامات التالية لوسط البلد مقارنة بباقي المدينة أو المناطق الأخرى لك شخصياً في الوقت الحالي، وليس للمواطنين بشكل عام:
-----	--

الاستخدام	مهم جداً	مهم	مهم نوعاً ما	مهم قليلاً	غير مهم ابداً	رفض الإجابة	
1. وسط البلد كمركز للتسوق من دكاكين المفرق، مثل ملابس جاهزة أو أدوات منزلية؟	1	2	3	4	6	7	لـ
2. وسط البلد كمركز للتسوق من أسواق متخصصة للخضار، أو مواد تموينية، أو جملة	1	2	3	4	6	7	لـ
3. وسط البلد كمركز للتسوق من أسواق متخصصة للذهب	1	2	3	4	6	7	لـ
4. وسط البلد كمركز للتسوق من أسواق متخصصة لبضاعة مستعملة مثل ملابس أو مفروشات	1	2	3	4	6	7	لـ
5. وسط البلد كمركز للتسوق من أسواق متخصصة للكتب	1	2	3	4	6	7	لـ
6. مكان خدمات حرفية مثل خياطين، حلاقين، تصليح أجهزة كهربائية، خدمات مكتبية	1	2	3	4	6	7	لـ
7. مكان مطاعم	1	2	3	4	6	7	لـ
8. مكان للالتقاء الاجتماعي	1	2	3	4	6	7	لـ
9. مكان للتنزه والتمشي	1	2	3	4	6	7	لـ
10. مكان للسينما	1	2	3	4	6	7	لـ
11. مكان للآثار والمتاحف	1	2	3	4	6	7	لـ
12. للنشاطات الثقافية مثل حفلات موسيقية، معارض فنية	1	2	3	4	6	7	لـ
13. مكان لأداء الصلاة	1	2	3	4	6	7	لـ
14. مكان لمناقشة القضايا العامة	1	2	3	4	6	7	لـ

305	هل كانت هناك فترة في حياتك كنت تنزل إلى وسط البلد أكثر من الحاضر؟	1. نعم 2. لا — انتقل إلى سؤال 307 6. رفض الإجابة — انتقل إلى سؤال 307	لـ
-----	---	---	----

306	كم كنت تنزل إلى وسط البلد حينها؟	1. يومياً . عدة مرات في الأسبوع 2. أسبوعياً . عدة مرات في الشهر 3. شهرياً . عدة مرات في السنة 4. نادراً	<input type="checkbox"/>
307	هل لك ذكريات تتعلق بوسط البلد؟	1. نعم 2. لا ← انتقل إلى سؤال 309 6. رفض الإجابة ← انتقل إلى سؤال 309	<input type="checkbox"/>
308	ما هي هذه الذكريات؟		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
309	برأيك ما هو أهم استخدام لوسط البلد للناس بشكل عام (وليس لك بشكل خاص)		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>

القسم الرابع: المدينة

أرجو أن تذكر تكرار ممارستك للنشاطات التالية بالعادة، وأكثر مكانين تمارس فيهما هذا النشاط مع توضيح موقعهما. مع العلم بأن هذه الأماكن قد تكون خارج عمان أو خارج الأردن ، أو قد تكون المنزل أو على الإنترنت.

401	وصف النشاط	تكرار النشاط 1- يومياً 2- أسبوعياً 3- شهرياً 4- نادراً 5- لا أمارس	مكانين لممارسة النشاط	موقع النشاط
1	التسوق لمواد الاستهلاك اليومي (الغذاء)		1. — 2. —	1. — 2. —
2	التسوق لمواد الاستهلاك متوسط وطويل الامد (الملابس)		1. — 2. —	1. — 2. —
3	الأكل في المطاعم		1. — 2. —	1. — 2. —
4	التنزه والتمشي		1. — 2. —	1. — 2. —
5	لقاء الناس		1. — 2. —	1. — 2. —
6	نشاطات ثقافية مثل حفلات موسيقية، معارض فنية، الخ		1. — 2. —	1. — 2. —
7	مناقشة القضايا العامة		1. — 2. —	1. — 2. —

402	هل عادة تؤدي الصلاة بشكل	1: فردي متقطع 2: فردي منظم 3: جماعي متقطع 4: جماعي منظم 5: لا تؤدي ← انتقل الى السؤال 404
-----	--------------------------	---

403	ما أكثر مكانين تؤدي فيهما الصلاة	1: — 2: — 7: رفض الإجابة
-----	----------------------------------	--------------------------------

404	اذكر أكثر مكان تعتبره تراثياً ومهما لك شخصياً بغض النظر عن موقعه (مع تحديد موقع المكان)	1: — 7: رفض الإجابة
-----	---	------------------------

القسم الخامس: معلومات شخصية

501	ما هو أوسع إطار عائلي والذي تدور ضمنه حياتك الأسبوعية؟ (مع استثناء زيارات الأعياد والمناسبات)	1: العائلة النووية (الأم والأب ، أو الزوج/ الزوجة والأولاد والأخوان غير المتزوجين) 2: العائلة الممتدة المباشرة (الأجداد والأعمام والأخوال وأولادهم والأخوان المتزوجون وعائلاتهم) 3: العائلة الممتدة غير المباشرة (ما بعدت قرابتهم عن المذكورين أعلاه)
-----	---	---

502	ما أهمية الانتماء إلى العائلة الممتدة بالنسبة اليك؟	1: مهمة جداً 2: مهمة 3: مهمة نوعاً ما 4: مهمة قليلاً 5: غير مهمة أبداً
-----	---	--

503	فكر في أقرب الأصدقاء والرفاق اليك خارج إطار العائلة المباشرة، ما القاسم المشترك الذي يجمعكم؟ يمكن اختيار أكثر من واحد	1: العمل او الدراسة 2: الامتداد العائلي العشائري 3: الانتماء لنفس الاصل الجغرافي (أو العرق الإثني) 4: الجيرة 5: النشاط الديني 6: هواية معينة 7: الانتماء لطبقة اقتصادية معينة 8: أخرى حدد : —
-----	---	--

504	هل تصف نفسك انساناً تقليدياً حيث تعتبر التقاليد والعادات أساس المجتمع وتمارسها وتحافظ عليها، ام انساناً عصرياً حيث ترفض التقاليد وتبحث عن طريقة حياة جديدة تتناسب مع معطيات العصر؟	1: تقليدي جداً 2: تقليدي نوعاً ما 3: متوسط أو متقلب 4: عصري نوعاً ما 5: عصري جداً
-----	--	---

505	كيف تقدر معرفتك بتاريخ الأردن؟	1: ممتازة 2: جيدة جداً 3: جيدة 4: ضعيفة 5: ضعيفة جداً	□
-----	--------------------------------	---	---

506	ما هي مصادر معرفتك بتاريخ الأردن؟ يمكن اختيار أكثر من بند	1: المدرسة، الكلية، الجامعة 2: الراديو والتلفزيون 3: الانترنت 4: قراءة الكتب 5: من الأهل والأصدقاء والزملاء 6: أخرى. حدد	□□□□□
-----	--	---	-------

507	ينتمي الناس في حياتهم اليومية في أي بلد إلى جماعات اجتماعية مختلفة في الوقت نفسه ومقامات مختلفة من الهوية، فمنها هوية الشخص كآب أو زوج أو هوية كمهني أو متعلم أو ما يعبر عن انتمائه الديني أو العرقي أو الوطني، أو انتمائه على قرية أو مدينة معينة مثلاً. كيف تصف نفسك في المقام ...	الأول: — الثاني: — الثالث: —	□□ □□ □□
-----	--	------------------------------------	----------------

508	ما هو مقدار سفرك في أكثر فترة سافرت فيها في حياتك؟	1: عدة مرات في الشهر - شهرياً 2: عدة مرات في السنة 3: نادراً 4: أبداً ← انتقل الى 510	□
-----	--	--	---

509	إلى أية مناطق كان أغلب سفرك؟	1: دول عربية مجاورة 2: دول أوروبا والولايات المتحدة 3: أوروبا الشرقية وروسيا 4: شرق ووسط آسيا 5: أخرى حدد: —	□ □ □ □ □□
-----	------------------------------	--	------------------------

510	ما مدى إجادة لغات عدى العربية، مثل	
-----	------------------------------------	--

ممتازة	جيدة جداً	جيدة	ضعيفة	لا أجيد	
1	2	3	4	5	1. الانجليزية
1	2	3	4	5	2. الفرنسية
1	2	3	4	5	3. الروسية
1	2	3	4	5	2. أخرى. حدد:

511	بالنسبة لمشاهدتك للتلفزيون ومطالعة الكتب والمجلات ما اللغة التي تفضلها؟	1: العربية 2: الانجليزية 3: كلتاها 4: أخرى حدد: —	□□
-----	---	--	----

القسم السادس: المعلومات الشخصية

601	العمر :	
602	الجنس :- 1. ذكر 2. أنثى	
603	الحالة الزوجية: 1. أعزب 2. متزوج 3. أخرى	
604	المستوى التعليمي: 1. أمي / ملم 2. ابتدائي 3. إعدادي / أساسي 4. تلمذة مهنية 5. ثانوي 6. دبلوم متوسط 7. بكالوريوس 8. دبلوم عالي 9. ماجستير 10. دكتوراه	
605	من أين حصلت على أعلى مستوى للتعليم؟	
606	هل تعمل؟	
	1. نعم 2. لا - انتقل إلى 610	
607	قطاع العمل : 1. عام 2. خاص 3. أخرى	
608	المهنة الرئيسية :	
609	هل لك أن تحدد مكان العمل (المنطقة التي تعمل فيها)؟	
610	(الدخل يشمل جميع الأجور والرواتب وبدل الإيجارات...) الدخل الشهري للمستجيب (بالدينار الأردني) ()	
611	الدخل الشهري للأسرة (بالدينار الأردني) ()	
612	ما هي ديانتك؟	
	1. مسلم 2. مسيحي 3. أخرى (حدد)	

أشكر/ي المستجيب/ة

رقم الهاتف:

Annex 3: The survey process: guidelines and procedures for conducting the survey and preparing the findings for statistical analysis

1. Conducting the survey

a. Preparing for the survey

Prior to conducting the survey, the questionnaire was amended according to remarks that resulted from testing the questionnaire on 5 respondents, comments contributed by the supervisor, and feedback from the surveyors.

A day before the beginning of the survey a training session was planned; consisting of meeting the surveyors and reading and discussing the questions, clarifications, and accepting notes and comments.

During the training session 5 groups of 5 people each were formed. The surveyors were organized into a hierarchy whereby there was one senior general supervisor, who assigned the groups, issued batches of questionnaires each morning and received the filled out ones in the evening. Every day, he also daily assigned the areas and blocks for each group to survey. Within each group there was a male senior supervisor, who chauffeured his group to their surveying locations, assured their safety by maintaining frequent mobile phone contact, and reviewed the filled out questionnaires to assure completion and to address any misunderstandings by the surveyors. The groups also consisted of four experienced surveyors: three females and one male for four groups, and all females for the fifth group. To assure that the surveyors properly filled out the questionnaire and maintained good conduct, each respondent was asked for their phone number for the purpose of contacting them later.

The survey started on 21/6/2009 and lasted for 7 days. The researcher accompanied the surveying groups for two days and witnessed the surveying process; remaining mostly passive, but interfering when the surveyor found it difficult to ask certain questions. During the first two days of survey the following notes were observed:

- People living in affluent areas were much less cooperative in responding.
- The timing of the survey was fortunate in the sense that it coincided with school holidays and a weekend, which allowed for the inclusion of a wider spectrum of age groups.
- On the issue of the literal writing down of the open questions, it proved to be quite difficult in practice. Because the surveyors had a considerable experience in surveying, they acquired the habit of interpreting the answers from 'common language' and sometimes incoherent phrases, into 'formal language' understandable sentences. After multiple attempts to help surveyors understand the requirement, some took to it, some failed to appreciate that what they were doing did not match what we wanted, and some got somewhat offended. As a result, we will not be able to use the answers of the 'open ended' questions for literal analysis, but rather for more general 'classification' type of analysis.

b. Debriefing

For the purposes of debriefing, we discovered that it would be difficult to gather the surveyors again because they worked as freelancers and some of them lived outside the

city, so gathering them on an additional day would translate into a financial obligation we couldn't afford. To resolve this issue, all the groups were debriefed during the last two days of the survey in the field, going to each group at the respective location of their work.

All the groups agreed on the following comments:

- That people had a difficulty in distinguishing between questions 108 and 302 (about landmarks versus heritage landmarks), even after the surveyors explained the difference.
- Especially for the conservative families, female respondents were reluctant to give out the telephone number.
- All the respondents were reluctant to answer questions 610 and 611 (about income), and those who answered always decreased the amount stated (which sometimes was extremely out of proportion with the apparent way of life they were leading – in terms of quality of house, ownership of cars, etc.). One way to address this problem was for the surveyor to ask the respondent to evaluate their income at (high – medium – low), or to evaluate it on her/his own. This shortcoming poses a problem of introducing the economical status into the identity model, but we attempt to replace it with an indicator of the economical status via the proxy of place of residence.

The surveyor groups stated the following comments as well, but the comments were contradictory at times:

- The questionnaire was too long/ vs. respondents enjoyed the questionnaire because it did not address political or financial issues.
- Respondents could not understand why the case study was downtown Amman/ vs. respondents were happy that the downtown was addressed in the hope of developing it in the future.
- Respondents liked the question about place of origin/ vs. respondents were suspicious of this question.
- Some respondents felt that being asked about performing prayers is an intrusion on their privacy.
- Some respondents, despite using the downtown frequently, had no specific memories of the place.
- Respondents did not feel at ease with question 401. Some respondents could not specify an exact place where they performed the activity. In many cases they just specified one place instead of two.
- Many respondents felt embarrassed to discuss their shopping habits regarding used (second-hand) goods.

The survey produced extensive findings which form the most important contribution of this research and are employed to explore the applicability of our hypotheses and assumptions to the context of the case study. The data resulting from the survey was processed using SPSS Statistics 17.0. Having been entered into an SPSS document by the research company, it required further recoding, weighting and analysis.

2. Coding and variable handling

The produced data variables can be divided into two types: independent variables, or explanatory variables, which are used to explain the findings, and dependent variables, which are the subject of analysis.

The variables vary in level of measurement. They can be divided into categorical (nominal), ordinal and interval. Categorical variables are measured in categories, such as male/ female for gender; city names; preference of certain food; whereby an answer can be exclusively one category among all listed, and whereby the order of the categories is irrelevant. Ordinal variables are measured in categories which can be ordered, but do not suggest an equal interval for the orders, for example small/ medium/ large for clothing size; Secondary School/ University degree/ Post-graduate degree for level of education; or ranking according to some specific qualitative criteria – 1st place, 2nd place, etc. Interval variables are measured in ordered and equal intervals, which can consist of a range, for example dividing the sample age into age groups of 5 years (15-19, 20-24, 25-29, etc.). When the intervals are reduced to established single universal units of measurement, such as single year or kilometre for example, the variable is then known as continuous.

The independent variables in this study are the variables that contribute to an understanding of the respondent's general identity. Following is a list of these variables, showing their type, original measurement as per survey, and the measurements they are recoded into:

	Variable	Q#	Type of analyzed var.	Original measurement	Categories of recoded measurement
1	Perceived identity	507	Categorical	None - Open question (69 answers)	Religious; Nationalist East; Nationalist Arab; Family; Nationalist West; Achievement; Other
2	Gender	602	Categorical	Male/ female	Not recoded
3	Age	601	Interval	In years	15-34; 35-64; 65+
4	Economical status	Via proxy	Interval	Via the proxy of place of residence as explained below	Not recoded
5	Place of origin	211	Categorical	Country, City, Village	East Bank; West Bank; Other Arab; Other Non-Arab
6	Place of residence – tier	Introduction	Ordinal	As explained below and per Figure 4	Tier 1, Tier 2, Tier 3
7	Place of residence - area	Introduction	Categorical	Areas	Not recoded
8	Prayer (collectivity)	402	Ordinal	I don't practice prayer; individually and	I don't practice prayer; Individual

				irregularly; individually and regularly; collectively and irregularly; collectively and regularly	prayer; collective prayer
9	Prayer (regularity)	402	Ordinal	I don't practice prayer; individually and irregularly; individually and regularly; collectively and irregularly; collectively and regularly	I don't practice prayer; irregularly; regularly
10	Choice of friends	503	Categorical	Work or studying; belonging to the same extended family; belonging to the same neighbourhood; belonging to the same geographical area; religious activities; a specific hobby; belonging to a certain economical class; other	Not recoded
11	Travel frequency	508	Interval	Several times a month – monthly; several times a year; rarely; never	Not recoded
12	Travel destination	509	Categorical	Neighbouring Arab countries; Europe and the United States; Eastern Europe and Russia; Mid and East Asia; Other	Not recoded
13	Proficiency of English	510	Interval	Excellent; very well; well; weak; not at all	Not recoded
14	Language of preference in the media	511	Categorical	Arabic; English; Both; other	Not recoded
15	Education	604	Ordinal	Illiterate/ somewhat literate; Primary school; Intermediate school; Vocational school; Secondary school; Intermediate diploma; Bachelor's degree; Higher diploma; Master's degree; PhD degree	Illiterate; Primary - Intermediate school; Higher education; Non-response

Table 1: the independent variables, their type, original measurement as per survey, and the measurements they are recoded into.

The dependent variables in this study are the variables that the research seeks to explain in their relation to the variable of identity. These variables consist of three groups: variables

exploring the perception of heritage; variables exploring the use of the city; and variables exploring the use and perception of the downtown. The coding and the type of these variables are as follows:

	Variable	Q#	Type of analyzed var.	Original measurement	Categories of recoded measurement
	1) Heritage				
1.	Reasons for the importance of heritage (open ended)	203	Categorical	Open ended	Knowledge and perpetuation of the past; Source of identity; Economical resource for tourism; Source of pride; Aesthetical value; Resource for future generations; None; Other
2.	Heritage reminds us of our origins and gives our identity an historical continuation	204/1	Ordinal	Big extent; Moderate extent; Little extent; Not at all; I don't know	Not recoded
3.	Heritage makes us feel we belong to a certain place	204/2	Ordinal	Big extent; Moderate extent; Little extent; Not at all; I don't know	Not recoded
4.	Heritage provides an economical resource when used for tourism	204/3	Ordinal	Big extent; Moderate extent; Little extent; Not at all; I don't know	Not recoded
5.	Forms of heritage (tangible/intangible) level 1	205/1	Categorical	Customs and traditions and values; Stories and wisdoms; Clothing and embroidery and crafts; Traditional buildings and old areas of the city	Not recoded
6.	Forms of heritage (tangible/intangible) level 2	205/2	Categorical	Customs and traditions and values; Stories and wisdoms; Clothing and embroidery and crafts; Traditional buildings and old areas of the city	Not recoded

7.	Social groups most attached to heritage	206	Categorical	The people of the Badia; the people of the Village; the people of the City	Not recoded
8.	Temporal scale of heritage	208	Categorical	The private family heritage (across several generations); National heritage (Jordanian or Palestinian); Ethnic heritage (like the heritage belonging to the Arab nation); Religious heritage (which represents the period of Islamic Ummah); The heritage of old civilizations (Roman or Ammonite)	Not recoded
9.	Geographical scale of heritage	209	Categorical	Local heritage (belonging to a certain village or city); National heritage (belonging to Jordan or to the country of The heritage of Bilad el-Sham (Greater Syria); The heritage of the Arab Countries (Arab World); The heritage of the Islamic Ummah (World); The World heritage	Not recoded
10.	Belonging to a place (East Bank vs. West Bank)	210/1	Categorical	Open ended (116 answers)	East Bank; West Bank; Other
11.	Belonging to a place (in terms of scale)	210/2	Ordinal	Open ended (120 answers)	Global and country; Region; City and village; Locality and small locality; Other
12.	Use of heritage buildings	212	Categorical	Private use as a residence or an office; Restaurant or a café; Arts gallery or a museum; A school or	Not recoded

				a college; Other	
13.	Most significant place of heritage	404	Categorical	Open ended (72 answers)	Archeological/ heritage site; Religious site; City/ village/ neighbourhood; Country; Modern secular landmark; Natural site; Other
14.	Belonging to Amman	303	Ordinal	Very strong belonging; Strong belonging; Moderate belonging; Weak belonging; No belonging at all	Not recorded
	2) Use of the City				
15.	Frequency of shopping for goods of everyday consumption	401/1	Ordinal	Daily; Weekly; Monthly; Rarely; Never	Not recorded
16.	Frequency of shopping for goods of mid-term consumption	401/2	Ordinal	Daily; Weekly; Monthly; Rarely; Never	Not recorded
17.	Frequency of eating in restaurants	401/3	Ordinal	Daily; Weekly; Monthly; Rarely; Never	Not recorded
18.	Frequency of socializing	401/4	Ordinal	Daily; Weekly; Monthly; Rarely; Never	Not recorded
19.	Frequency of leisurely walking	401/5	Ordinal	Daily; Weekly; Monthly; Rarely; Never	Not recorded
20.	Frequency of cultural activities	401/6	Ordinal	Daily; Weekly; Monthly; Rarely; Never	Not recorded
21.	Frequency of discussing public matters	401/7	Ordinal	Daily; Weekly; Monthly; Rarely; Never	Not recorded
22.	Everyday means of transportation	105	Categorical	Service car; Taxi; Bus; Private car; Walking	Not recorded
	3) Downtown				
23.	How many times did you go to the downtown in the last year?	102	Ordinal	Daily – several times a week; Weekly – several times a month; Monthly – several times a year; Rarely; Never	Not recorded

24.	What transportation do you use to go downtown?	103	Categorical	Service car; Taxi; Bus; Private car; Walking	Not recorded
25.	Is downtown a place where you like to go?	106	Ordinal	I like very much; I like; I somewhat like; I like a little; I don't like at all	Not recorded
26.	Agree with dedication of downtown as heritage place	301	Ordinal	Agree very much; Agree; Neutral; Don't agree; Don't agree at all	Agree; Neutral; Disagree
27.	Opinion of most prominent landmark in downtown	302	Categorical	Open ended (67 answers)	Archaeological; Religious; Modern secular; Markets; Restaurants; Other
28.	Use: shopping from retail shops	304/1	Ordinal	Very important; Important; Somewhat important; Not important; Not important at all	Important; Somewhat important; Not important
29.	Use: Shopping from specialized markets such as vegetables, groceries	304/2	Ordinal	Very important; Important; Somewhat important; Not important; Not important at all	Important; Somewhat important; Not important
30.	Use: Shopping from specialized markets such as gold, jewellery	304/3	Ordinal	Very important; Important; Somewhat important; Not important; Not important at all	Important; Somewhat important; Not important
31.	Use: Shopping from specialized markets such as used goods	304/4	Ordinal	Very important; Important; Somewhat important; Not important; Not important at all	Important; Somewhat important; Not important
32.	Use: Shopping from specialized markets such as books	304/5	Ordinal	Very important; Important; Somewhat important; Not important; Not important at all	Important; Somewhat important; Not important
33.	Use: Crafts and services	304/6	Ordinal	Very important; Important; Somewhat important; Not important	Important; Somewhat important; Not important

				important; Not important at all	
34.	Use: restaurants	304/ 7	Ordinal	Very important; Important; Somewhat important; Not important; Not important at all	Important; Somewhat important; Not important
35.	Use: socializing	304/ 8	Ordinal	Very important; Important; Somewhat important; Not important; Not important at all	Important; Somewhat important; Not important
36.	Use: Leisurely walking	304/ 9	Ordinal	Very important; Important; Somewhat important; Not important; Not important at all	Important; Somewhat important; Not important
37.	Use: Cinema	304/ 10	Ordinal	Very important; Important; Somewhat important; Not important; Not important at all	Important; Somewhat important; Not important
38.	Use: Archaeology and museums	304/ 11	Ordinal	Very important; Important; Somewhat important; Not important; Not important at all	Important; Somewhat important; Not important
39.	Use: Cultural activities	304/ 12	Ordinal	Very important; Important; Somewhat important; Not important; Not important at all	Important; Somewhat important; Not important
40.	Use: Prayer	304/ 13	Ordinal	Very important; Important; Somewhat important; Not important; Not important at all	Important; Somewhat important; Not important
41.	Use: Discussing public matters	304/ 14	Ordinal	Very important; Important; Somewhat important; Not important; Not important at all	Important; Somewhat important; Not important
42.	Importance of	104	Ordinal	Very important;	Important; Somewhat

	downtown for transportation when Raghadan Terminal was active			Important; Somewhat important; Not important; Not important at all	important; Not important
43.	How often did you go to the downtown before in your life (if ever).	306	Ordinal	Daily – several times a week; Weekly – several times a month; Monthly – several times a year; Rarely	Not recoded
44.	Do you have memories related to downtown?	307	Categorical	Yes; No	Not recoded
45.	What are these memories?	308	Categorical	Open ended (78 answers)	General memories of youth and family; Leisure activities (picnics, walking, swimming, etc.); Shopping (for nice things); Meeting friends; Work; Attending events (festivals, particular incidents, etc.); Other
46.	Most important use of downtown for people in general	309	Categorical	Open ended (25 answers)	Commercial; Transportation; Leisure and socializing; Culture and tourism; Political activities; Work; Services; Religious practice

Table 2: the dependant variables, their type, original measurement as per survey, and the measurements they are recoded into.

The purpose of gathering data for the variable summarized above is to examine the occurrence of each phenomenon in the study population by inference from the sample population, and to search for and examine any significant relationships between the variables.

As can be noticed in the tables above, the majority of the variables belong to the categorical or the ordinal types, which have a small number of categories. The analysis of categorical (and ordinal) variables calls for specific statistical analyses depending on the depth of relationships to be examined. But before going deeper into the statistical analyses used in this research, some notes are due on the issues of recoding and variable handling.

Recoding and variable handling:

The issue of variable coding is addressed in the part of the construction of the questionnaire, whereby each question addresses a specific variable and the answers are coded accordingly.

Before the analysis however, and in order to get more manageable categories of answers that would provide more meaningful observations in terms of inference to the population or as a result of the statistical analysis tests, some of the variables required that the corresponding answers be combined into smaller groups, separated, or approached via a proxy.

- 1) The combination of answers into smaller groups took place in two types of instances. The first type involved transforming the answers of open ended questions into concise categories before attempting statistical analysis; such as in the cases of questions number 507 (on perceived identity), 211 (place of origin), 203 (reasons for the importance of heritage), 210 (belonging to a place), 404 (most significant place of heritage), 302 (most prominent landmark in downtown) and 309 (most important use of downtown for people). The purpose of using an open ended question from the start was to allow the freedom of answer which would enrich the production of final categories through interpretation and meaningful reduction. Another aim of this approach was to avoid facilitating answering some of the more difficult questions by providing suggestions. The recoded categories for the questions in this type of instance represent my interpretation of these categories according to the topic under analysis. Different topics (as shall be seen) or a different approach to interpretation would certainly yield different categories. However, the interpretation in this case serves the ensuing analysis and conclusions favourably.

The second type of combination occurred for questions 601 (age), 604 (education), 301 (agreement with dedication of downtown as a place of heritage), all branches of 304 (perception of the importance of uses of downtown). In these questions the answers were combined into fewer categories without interpretation in the course of statistical analysis to produce more significant observations.

Another instance for the second type of grouping was performed for the variable of the place of residence, which is registered in the introduction of the questionnaire by the surveyor, and is further measured in two manners. The first manner consists of clustering the places of residence into the 20 'sampling strata' of the city of Amman as explained in the sampling procedure leading up to the survey (Section 5.3.4.1.). Further clustering of the areas into a smaller number did not yield statistically more significant findings. The second manner consisted of grouping the 20 'sampling strata' according to their proximity to the downtown into two tiers: the first encompassing the downtown itself and the strata in direct proximity, while the second tier encompassing the remaining strata of the city (Figure 4).

- 2) The separation of answers for a question occurred for question number 402 (on prayer), whereby the use of the original form of the answers did not yield significant results in statistical analysis. In the original form of the question, the collectivity and regularity of prayer are combined together in an ascending order, but do not yield significant results. Upon separation of each of regularity and collectivity, the results were more significant.
- 3) Some variables are measured with the use of a geographical proxy, as in the case of the place of residence and the economical status of the respondent. To gather data

for the variable of economical status, a direct question on income incorporated in the questionnaire failed to yield meaningful data, as people avoided declaring correct numbers. Another way to assess economical status is explored instead, by using the place of residence as a measure, and basing the process on a general assumption that the price of rent or price of land in an area are an indicator of its general economical standing, and that the economical status of a person would generally define his or her capacity to afford a residence in a particular area, whereby he or she would relocate to an area of a higher standing if he could afford to do so. The process is based on the real-estate survey performed earlier in the research (Section 5.3.2.). In the survey, 11 types of price were surveyed for all 20 areas of the city: residential rent for 3 prevalent areas of homes; commercial rent for 3 prevalent sizes of commercial space; office rent for 3 prevalent areas of offices; price of commercial land and of residential land. Of these one had to be chosen as a measure of economical status to be incorporated in further statistical analysis, thus all of the 11 types were tested statistically against the most pivotal variable in the research – that of perceived identity using the same statistical tests as will be explained below (Chi-square test and observing the Cramer's V value). As a result of the test, the variable with the most significant and the strongest association of the 11 with Perceived Identity was the rent for commercial space of (50 sq.m.).

Annex 4: Summary of statistical principles, analysis and tests utilized in this research

1. Statistical analyses and tests

Having gathered and processed the results of the survey, the next step is to conduct statistical analyses to uncover the existence and strength of relationships between variables. For the types of variables to be examined in this research, which are mostly categorical and ordinal, specific tests apply in terms of statistical analysis.

Statistical procedures in this research have three main objectives: examine the frequencies at which the variables and their categories occur; search for significant relationships/associations among dependent and independent variables and compare these relationships; and examine the associations in detail. The research will employ two statistical approaches to examine the data: descriptive and inferential. Descriptive statistics will focus on summarizing the findings in the form of frequencies, and crosstabulating dependent and independent variables in order to observe internal frequencies of occurrence (counts) and how they compare to frequencies of the phenomenon occurring at random via the analysis of the 'residuals'. The crosstabulation leads to another approach in statistics, that of inference – attempting to establish which associations, if any, can be generalized to the original population – the whole population of the city of Amman. To find these associations and determine their strength the Chi-Square test will be performed and the Cramer's V value will be derived as explained below.

2. Generalization of results

After calculating the frequencies for the categories (or orders) of variables and their proportions within the sample, it is important to be able to generalize from those numbers to the wider population from which the sample is drawn. In reference to Zar (2009), Rees (2001) and Cramer & Howitt (2004) for parametric variables, there are numerous methods to compare the various parameters of the sample with the parameters of the population, whether those are measures of central tendency (mean, median and the mode) or measures of dispersion (range, variance and standard deviation). For non-parametric variables, such as the ones in this research, the methods are more limited. One of the available methods for generalizing from non-parametric variables is via calculating confidence limits – values at the upper and lower end of a confidence interval, or the margin of error. The calculation of the confidence interval assumes random sampling and a normal distribution of the population and a 95% level of confidence, which means that on a normal distribution curve, 95% of the sample will fall within 1.96 deviations from the mean. Margin error, which is half the width of confidence interval is dependent on the sample size and can be calculated for the proportions of sample variables via the equation:

$$p \pm 1.96\sqrt{p(1-p)/n}$$

Where p is the proportion and n is the sample size.

So for example, if the survey found that 52.9% of the sample state their perceived identity as 'Religious', we can be certain, within 95% confidence level, that within the larger population the people who identify as 'Religious' will range between 49.8% and 55.9% or approximately 3% around the original percentage. Although margin errors will not be stated generally in the analysis discussion, the following table summarizes the margin

errors for frequency percentages of intervals of 5% for the sample of 1,000 taking into consideration that the margin of error also applies to the value of (100%-percentage):

	Percentage	Or Percentage	Margin of error
1.	5%	95%	1.3%
2.	10%	90%	1.9%
3.	15%	85%	2.2%
4.	20%	80%	2.5%
5.	25%	75%	2.7%
6.	30%	70%	2.8%
7.	35%	65%	3%
8.	40%	60%	3%
9.	45%	55%	3%
10.	50%	50%	3%

Table 3: summary of margins of error for frequency percentages ranging from 5% to 100% on an interval of 5% to be used for reference in the discussion of frequencies analysis in following chapters.

Examining the relationship between the margin of error and the sample size also helps in justifying the sample size of the research. Given the financial, time and organizational constraints, and the fact that this research is exploratory in its nature, the margin of error for a sample of a 1,000 compares favourable at its peak value for 50% frequency.

	Sample size	Margin of error for 50% frequency
1.	10	30.9%
2.	100	9.8%
3.	500	4.3%
4.	1000	3%
5.	5000	1.3%

Table 4: comparison of margin of errors for several sample sizes at frequencies of 50%.

As for the statistical analysis concerned with finding statistically significant associations/relationships for pairs of dependent and independent variables, it is in its basis inferential – meaning that it only finds those associations that can be generalized to the wider population.

3. Underlying concepts of analyses

Before explaining the procedures for inferential statistics, a summary of some of the underlying concepts and assumptions is necessary. Inferential statistics operates via significance testing, whereby significance implies that ‘it is not plausible that the research findings are due to chance’ (Cramer & Howitt, 2004). This concept is made operational by the practice of hypothesis testing - whereby two oppositional hypotheses are proposed: the null hypothesis (H_0), and the alternative hypothesis (H_1). What is actually tested in this process is the null hypothesis which claims that there is no relationship between the two variables in the crosstabulation, and the intent of the test is to establish the percentage of cases where the relationship is non-existent. The null hypothesis is rejected in favour of the alternative hypothesis when it occurs in fewer counts than 5%. The 0.05 probability level was set historically and is widely accepted in social sciences (Cramer & Howitt, 2004).

The Chi-square test: for categorical and ordinal data, such as the majority of the data in the analyzed survey, non-parametric tests (which do not depend on analyzing numerical parameters such as the mean or the standard deviation, as they do not apply to categorical nor ordinal data) are used in order to measure the independence of two variables. In the case of examining the relationship between two categorical variables, the Chi-square test of independence is used (Ho, 2006). What this test does is compare the observed frequencies with the frequencies expected by chance or according to a particular distribution across all the combinations of categories of the two variables (Cramer & Howitt, 2004). This will be illustrated in the example below. The greater the overall difference is between the two observations (the higher the value of chi-square), the more likely it is that the two variables are not independent and are therefore related. The assumptions that this test is based on are: that the data is drawn from a random sample, that each case has only one count in the crosstabulation and that the expected frequency for each cell in the crosstabulation should be at least five for a minimum of 80% of the cells. Yet, the value of chi-square has a positive relationship to the number of categories in each variable (Cramer & Howitt, 2004), and the size of the sample (Miller, Acton, Fullerton, & Maltby, 2002), thus it cannot be used as a measure of comparison between relationships of other pairs of variables. However, what the test determines is whether or not there is a statistically significant association between the variables. When running the test, SPSS also calculates a significance value. When this value is below 0.05, this means that we can be 95% certain that there is a statistical association between the two variables in the larger population (Miller, Acton, Fullerton, & Maltby, 2002).

Cramer's V correlation: while the chi-square test confirms the existence of a relationship or an association between the two variables, it is important to examine the strength of that association, and use an indicator that would render the relationships of any pair of variables comparable. For this purpose, and because the number of categories for the analyzed variables is mostly greater than 2, Cramer's V value will be used as supplied by SPSS. Cramer's V is a correlation coefficient applied to a crosstabulation table (where the variable categories are greater than 2 by 2) and measures the strength of association between the two variables (Miller, Acton, Fullerton, & Maltby, 2002).

The value of Cramer's V ranges between 0 and 1 and can be interpreted as follows: correlations of 0.80 and higher are described as strong or high, and can be found in measuring the same variable (such as depression) on two different occasions. Correlations between 0.30 and 0.80 are said to be moderate and are usually shown for similar measures (such as marital support and marital satisfaction for example). As for correlations of 0.30 and less, which are said to be weak or low, they are typically found when measuring associations between different variables (such as depression and social support for example) (Cramer & Howitt, 2004).

In the research at hand, all of the variables whose association is tested in pairs are different, and thus the resulting Cramer's V values can be expected to be less than 0.30.

Although correlations with values less than 0.3 are generally considered weak¹, they are useful to compare the strengths of established associations.

Adjusted standardized residuals: in the case of the chi-square test establishing the presence of statistically significant association does not entail the establishment of causality, meaning that it does not imply that one variable causes the other. Since this test is two-tailed, it does not show if the relationship between the two variables is positive or negative. Thus the causality has to be established from other sources, such as the analysis of the historical background that binds the variables in question. On a statistical level, crosstabulation allows for a more detailed examination of the relationship of the categories of variables by the use of residuals (the difference between the observed counts for occurring categories and counts expected by chance), or rather the adjusted standardized residuals that are derived from the unstandardized residuals (also calculated by SPSS). The guideline in using adjusted standardized residuals is to give attention only to values greater than 2 or less than -2 (Miller, Acton, Fullerton, & Maltby, 2002).

Example of crosstabulation: crosstabulation (or contingency) tables are used to examine the relationship between two (or more) nominal or ordinal variables – one of which is considered independent and the other dependent. To illustrate the components of Crosstabulation and ensuing analysis in SPSS I will use the example of examining in detail the relationship between the independent variable of ‘gender’ and the dependent variable of ‘frequency of eating in restaurants’ (question #401-3 in the questionnaire).

Running the ‘crosstabulation’ command and selecting the appropriate options from the menu produces the following table:

			SEX		
			Male	Female	Total
Q 401-3 Frequency of eating at restaurants	Daily	Count	23	2	25
		Expected count	12.3	12.7	25
		% within SEX	4.7%	.4%	2.5%
		Adjusted residual	4.3	-4.3	
	Weekly	Count	83	38	121
		Expected count	59.7	61.3	121
		% within SEX	16.8%	7.5%	12.1%
		Adjusted residual	4.5	-4.5	
	Monthly	Count	107	104	211
		Expected count	104.1	106.9	211
		% within SEX	21.7%	20.6%	21.1%
		Adjusted residual	.4	-.4	
	Rarely	Count	84	105	189
		Expected count	93.3	95.7	189
		% within SEX	17%	20.8%	18.9%
		Adjusted residual	-1.5	1.5	
	Never	Count	196	257	453

¹ One reference considers correlation ranges of 0.15-0.20 as Very Weak; 0.20-0.25 as Moderately Strong; 0.25-0.30 as Fairly Strong (http://www.chass.utoronto.ca/~josephf/pol242/Labs/LM-6A/LM-6A_frameset.htm - no published reference is provided).

		Expected count	223.6	229.4	453
		% within SEX	39.8%	50.8%	45.3%
		Adjusted residual	-3.5	3.5	
Total	Count		493	506	999
	Expected count		493	506	999
	% within SEX		100%	100%	100%

Table 1: Crosstabulation table between the independent variable of SEX and the dependent variable of Frequency of eating at restaurants. The table shows the categories of both variables, and the counts of cases falling into each category, in addition to expected counts, percentage of counts within the independent variable, adjusted residuals and the totals.

For this table, the value of Chi-square=44.804, and the significance level is 0.000 which is an approximation of 0.0005 by SPSS. Cramer's V value is 0.212.

The exact interpretation of these values is that if the Null hypothesis were true we would only expect to find Chi-square as large as 44.804 in less than five out of every 10000 samples. Therefore we can reject our Null hypothesis and assume that the variables have a statistically significant association. Cramer's V value indicates the strength of this association at 0.212, which allows us to compare the strength of this association with other associations in this research.

Having established that there is a statistically significant association between gender and the frequency of eating at restaurants, it might be interesting to understand the relationship in more detail. Looking at the crosstabulation table and noticing the counts and the adjusted residuals allows us to do that. Before proceeding to examine these two values, it is important to note that none of the cells in the table have expected count less than 5 (the minimum expected count is 12.34). In the case that the expected counts were to fall below 5 in more than 20% of the cell, as happened with the tests of association for other pairs of variables, it would be necessary to combine or exclude some categories in order to reduce that occurrence to fewer than 20%. If this is not possible, the test will not be applicable.

Going back to examining the cells of the crosstabulation table, we can note that the expected counts are the counts per each frequency of eating at restaurants multiplied by the proportion of gender as observed in the sample (Male – 49.4%; Female 50.6%). So for example, in the case of 'Daily' frequency of eating at restaurants, the expected count for Males is ($25 \times 0.494 = 12.35$). The same procedure can be repeated for all the cells.

By examining the adjusted residuals, we can note that the values for the frequencies of 'Daily', 'Weekly' and 'Never' are statistically significant, and imply that the frequency of eating at restaurants is much higher for males than for females.

The aim of the statistical analysis in this research is to explore the existence of associations for all pairs of independent and dependent variables (bivariate analysis). This is shown in (Annex 5) which represents a matrix of associations for all the variables. The cells of the matrix display either the letter (N) indicating the absence of statistically significant association at a significance value of 0.05 (more associations might be revealed at a higher significance level such as 0.1), or for the pairs where an association is present, the cells indicate the Cramer's V value as a measure of the strength of association.

Further statistical tests: other tests could be performed to explore the relationships/associations for the pairs or for multiple groups of variables. We can add an additional level of analysis to the crosstabulation and the Chi-square test by adding another variable (a control variable such as age groups) to the analysis (multi-variate analysis). There are also additional measures of association applicable to nominal variables (such as Lambda) and others that provide more information on the nature of association (positive or negative) for ordinal variables such as Gamma and Kendall's tau-b. Performing logistic regression on the variables could also shed more light on the nature of relationship between the variables. This research however represents a first attempt in linking qualitative data on trends prominent in literature and historical background to quantitative indicators and the details that shape them. Within the constraints of time and effort frame of this research, it has to be selective in the procedures to be applied to data analysis and has to refrain from diverging into more detailed analysis.

4. Matrix of associations

As explained above, the aim of the statistical analysis in this research is to identify and examine associations between pairs of dependent and independent variables in order to test the research's hypothesis on the relation of identity to perceptions/conceptions of heritage and relevant use of the space of the city and the downtown. To achieve this in a systematic manner, all of the three groups, amounting to 46 dependent variables are tested for an association against all of the 15 independent variables, and summarized in a matrix (Table 12). The matrix tests the 690 pairs of variables for associations and indicates the lack of a statistically significant association with the letter (N – 'No association'), while for pairs with a significant association, Cramer's V value is listed. The matrix also provides descriptive data for the associations, such as the sum of counts of significant associations for each variable, maximum Cramer's V value for each variable, the sum and the average of Cramer's V values for each variable, and the percentage of statistically significant associations out of all associations for each variable and for each group of variables.

By examining the general outputs of the matrix several observations emerge:

- 1) Out of the 690 pairs of associations tested 246 (35.7%) are statistically significant. This value represents the associations that can be observed at a level of significance of 0.05 as explained above. Have this level been higher or lower, the percentage of significant associations to be observed would differ. This percentage does not hold an implicit qualitative judgement about the methodology of the research because of its experimental and exploratory nature. What it does propose is a base of comparison for future research that might build on the lessons learnt from this one.
- 2) For the associations that are found significant the values of Cramer's V correlation range between the minimum of 0.065 and the maximum of 0.276. This is consistent with the possible correlation values for associations between two different variables. The fluctuation of the correlations could be the result of several circumstances; it could reflect a true level of strength of association between any two variables, but it could also reflect shortcomings in the design of the survey, the wording of the questions, the performance of the surveyors and the receptiveness of the respondents to the practice of being surveyed.

- 3) The comparison of sums of associations for variables allowed us to observe that some variables performed stronger than others. Of the weakest variables to perform in general were the variables of 'Travel destination', 'Economical status', 'Place of origin' and 'Place of residence according to tier/ proximity to downtown'. The reasons for poor performance varied; for example for the variable of 'Economical status' which was measured via a geographical-real estate value proxy, it may be the case that the choice of proxy was poor, or that it required more elaboration on its framework. It could also be the case that this particular variable truly has a weak association with the concepts of identity, perception of heritage and the use of the city. In the context of this research, the available information is not sufficient to resolve this issue. The variable of 'Travel destination' seems to have performed weakly due to its irrelevance to most of the respondents, because 76.8% of the sample travels either rarely or never. However, some of the weak variables perform strongly in specific locations, for example 'Place of origin' fairs moderately strong in the group of the dependant variables of 'Heritage', while 'Place of residence according to tier/ proximity to downtown' performs well in the group of the dependant variables of 'Downtown'. Another reason for the weak associations among variables is their partial (versus total) dependence on each other. In a social world no two variables exist in a vacuum independent of the influences of other complex direct and indirect socio-economic, geographical, cultural and political variables. This research reveals only certain details of an entangled network of processes that shape and produce such concepts as identity, heritage and their geographical application. Thus, in the absence of a much more detailed analysis – which is beyond the limits of this PhD thesis, but for which this PhD thesis might serve as a starting point – the associations that are indeed revealed, might be revealed as weak.
- 4) Comparing the performance of variables also enables us to observe the strongest variables, which provide the material that this research focuses on in detail. The most important and most relevant variable for the hypothesis – the variable of 'Perceived identity' emerges as the strongest variable in the lot, revealing significant associations in 54% of the cases. Other strong variables that emerge are 'Place of residence according to area' and 'Education' achieving significant associations in 50% of the cases each. Several other variables have a more localized strength and are discussed in due time.

We have dedicated numerous pages above to the exploration of a topic that is central to this thesis – the survey, whose results and analyses form our main original contribution. Above, we described the design of the survey, the process of conducting the survey, and the process of recoding the variables. We have also provided a summary of the main statistical tests that will be performed on the results of the survey in order to locate relationships and associations between the variables. The analysis of the established associations serves as the basis for the theoretical discussion in the following chapters, which detail the associations and establish causality by referring to historical background and the theoretical framework.

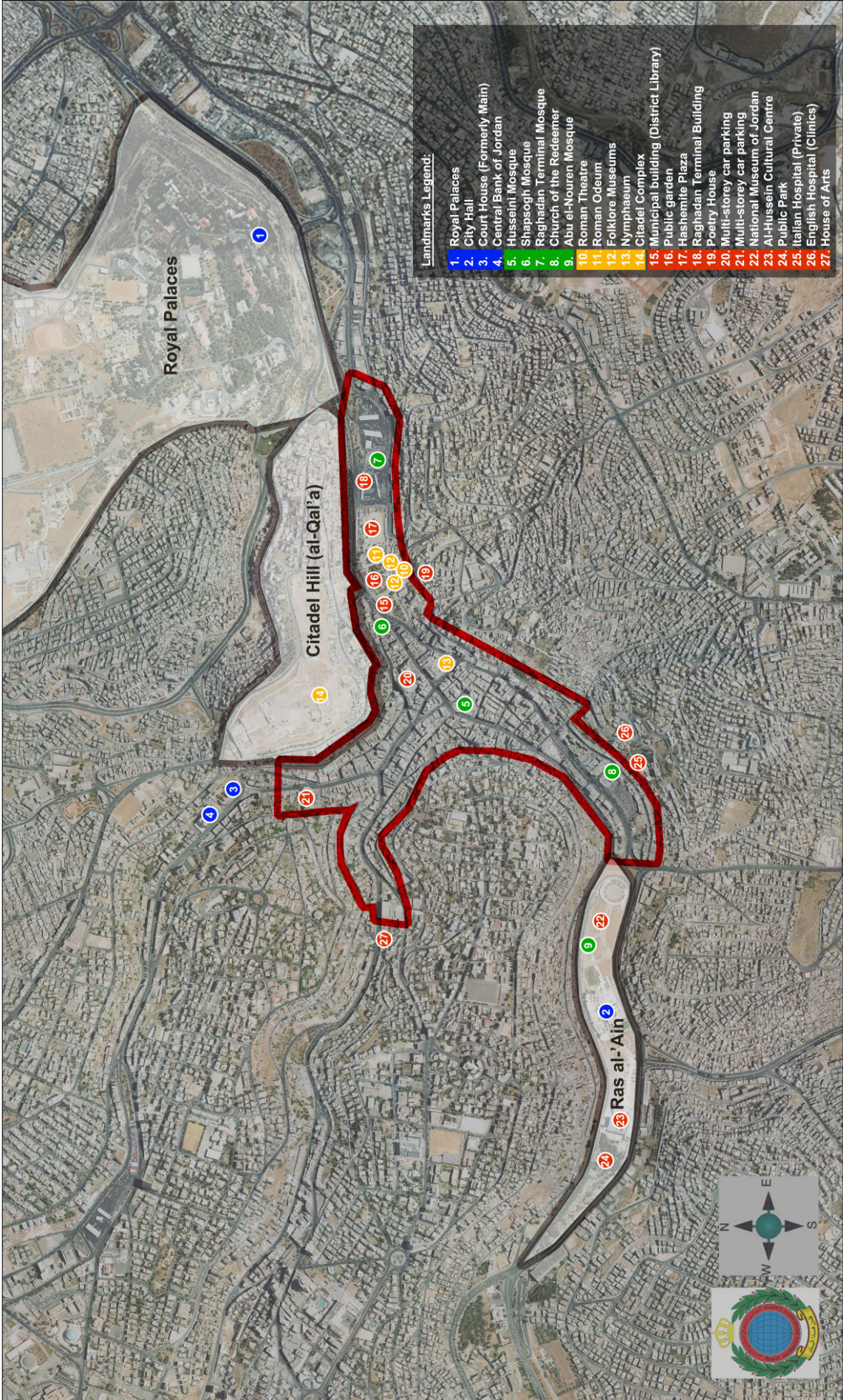
The statistical approach to this part of the research forms a remarkable departure from the descriptive and structural methodologies employed so far. This is our approach to studying a subject as subjective as heritage, and our attempt to reveal the naturalizations constructed onto the concept via the use of a positivistic approach. However, in all parts of the thesis, we diligently pursue the scientific standards of research.

Annex 5: Results of statistical analyses: matrix of associations between pairs of examined variables showing presence and values of Cramer V correlations

[illegible]

Annex 6: Main landmarks in al-Balad and the surrounding area

Main landmarks in al-Balad and the surrounding area



Annex 7: Ranking for city areas in terms of price and rent as per the findings of real-estate survey

Ranking for city areas in terms of price of rent and land

Rank	Residential (100 m2)	Residential (120-150 m2)	Residential (170 m2)	Commercial (50 m2)	Commercial (70-100 m2)	Commercial (150 m2)
-	Least expensive					
1.	Sahab	Sahab	Sahab	Sahab	Al-Yarmouk	Al-Yarmouk
2.	Al-Madinah	Al-Madinah	Al-Madinah	Al-Madinah	Umm Gseir, Muqabelein, Al-Bnayyat	Umm Gseir, Muqabelein, Al-Bnayyat
3.	Marka	Marka	Umm Gseir, Muqabelein, Al-Bnayyat	Umm Gseir, Muqabelein, Al-Bnayyat	Al-Qweismeh, Abu Alanda, Al-Juwaideh, Al-Raqeem	Al-Madinah
4.	Al-Yarmouk	Al-Yarmouk	Basman	Basman	Ras Al-A'in	Ras Al-A'in
5.	Umm Gseir, Muqabelein, Al-Bnayyat	Umm Gseir, Muqabelein, Al-Bnayyat	Marka	Marka	Al-Nasser	Al-Nasser
6.	Basman	Basman	Al-Yarmouk	Al-Yarmouk	Al-Madinah	Al-Qweismeh, Abu Alanda, Al-Juwaideh, Al-Raqeem
7.	Al-Qweismeh, Abu Alanda, Al-Juwaideh, Al-Raqeem	Al-Qweismeh, Abu Alanda, Al-Juwaideh, Al-Raqeem	Khreibet Al-Souq	Khreibet Al-Souq	Marka	Sahab
8.	Khreibet Al-Souq	Ras Al-A'in	Ras Al-A'in	Ras Al-A'in	Bader	Tareq
9.	Ras Al-A'in	Khreibet Al-Souq	Al-Qweismeh, Abu Alanda, Al-Juwaideh, Al-Raqeem	Al-Qweismeh, Abu Alanda, Al-Juwaideh, Al-Raqeem	Tareq	Marka
10.	Al-Nasser	Tareq	Bader	Bader	Sahab	Bader
11.	Bader	Bader	Al-Nasser	Al-Nasser	Al-Jubeiha	Sweileh
12.	Tareq	Al-Nasser	Tareq	Tareq	Na'our and Marj Al-Hamam	Al-Jubeiha
13.	Abu Nseir	Abu Nseir	Na'our and Marj Al-Hamam	Na'our and Marj Al-Hamam	Sweileh	Na'our and Marj Al-Hamam
14.	Na'our and Marj Al-Hamam	Na'our and Marj Al-Hamam	Abu Nseir	Abu Nseir	Basman	Khreibet Al-Souq
15.	Wadi El-Seer	Al-Abdali	Al-Abdali	Al-Abdali	Khreibet Al-Souq	Abu Nseir

16.	Al-Abdali	Sweileh	Sweileh	Sweileh	Abu Nseir	Basman
17.	Sweileh	Zahrān	Zahrān	Zahrān	Zahrān	Zahrān
18.	Zahrān	Al-Jubeḥa	Wadi El-Seer	Wadi El-Seer	Al-Abdali	Al-Abdali
19.	Al-Jubeḥa	Wadi El-Seer	Al-Jubeḥa	Al-Jubeḥa	Tla' Al-Ali, Umm Al-Summaq, Khalda	Tla' Al-Ali, Umm Al-Summaq, Khalda
20.	Tla' Al-Ali, Umm Al-Summaq, Khalda	Tla' Al-Ali, Umm Al-Summaq, Khalda	Tla' Al-Ali, Umm Al-Summaq, Khalda	Tla' Al-Ali, Umm Al-Summaq, Khalda	Wadi El-Seer	Wadi El-Seer
+ Most expensive						

Ranking of the 20 areas of Amman in an ascending order from the least expensive to the most expensive in terms of rent for three sizes of residential units and three areas for commercial units. It is evident that the area of Al-Madinah or the downtown is one of the cheapest areas in both respects, except for the middle sized commercial units. The immediately adjacent area of Zahrān is considerably more expensive in all respects.

Rank	Offices (50 m2)	Offices (70-90 m2)	Offices (120 m2)	Land Price - Residential	Land Price - Commercial
- Least expensive					
1.	Sahab	Sahab	Al-Madinah	Al-Madinah	Al-Yarmouk
2.	Al-Madinah	Al-Madinah	Umm Gseir, Muqabelein, Al-Bnayyat	Al-Yarmouk	Al-Madinah
3.	Umm Gseir, Muqabelein, Al-Bnayyat	Umm Gseir, Muqabelein, Al-Bnayyat	Sahab	Marka	Al-Qweismeh, Abu Alanda, Al-Juwaideh, Al-Raqeem
4.	Ras Al-A'in	Ras Al-A'in	Al-Yarmouk	Khreibet Al-Souq	Marka
5.	Al-Yarmouk	Al-Yarmouk	Al-Qweismeh, Abu Alanda, Al-Juwaideh, Al-Raqeem	Basman	Al-Nasser
6.	Al-Qweismeh, Abu Alanda, Al-Juwaideh, Al-Raqeem	Al-Qweismeh, Abu Alanda, Al-Juwaideh, Al-Raqeem	Bader	Al-Qweismeh, Abu Alanda, Al-Juwaideh, Al-Raqeem	Basman
7.	Al-Nasser	Marka	Ras Al-A'in	Al-Nasser	Sahab
8.	Marka	Bader	Al-Nasser	Umm Gseir, Muqabelein, Al-Bnayyat	Umm Gseir, Muqabelein, Al-Bnayyat
9.	Bader	Tareq	Marka	Ras Al-A'in	Bader

10.	Tareq	Basman	Tareq	Sahab	Ras Al-A'in
11.	Basman	Al-Nasser	Basman	Bader	Khreibet Al-Souq
12.	Sweileh	Sweileh	Sweileh	Tareq	Tareq
13.	Khreibet Al-Souq	Khreibet Al-Souq	Al-Jubeiha	Abu Nseir	Sweileh
14.	Abu Nseir	Abu Nseir	Khreibet Al-Souq	Na'our and Marj Al-Hamam	Na'our and Marj Al-Hamam
15.	Al-Jubeiha	Al-Jubeiha	Abu Nseir	Zahran	Al-Abdali
16.	Al-Abdali	Al-Abdali	Al-Abdali	Al-Jubeiha	Zahran
17.	Zahran	Na'our and Marj Al-Hamam	Na'our and Marj Al-Hamam	Sweileh	Wadi El-Seer
18.	Wadi El-Seer	Zahran	Zahran	Al-Abdali	Al-Jubeiha
19.	Na'our and Marj Al-Hamam	Wadi El-Seer	Wadi El-Seer	Wadi El-Seer	Abu Nseir
20.	Tla' Al-Ali, Umm Al-Summaq, Khalda	Tla' Al-Ali, Umm Al-Summaq, Khalda	Tla' Al-Ali, Umm Al-Summaq, Khalda	Tla' Al-Ali, Umm Al-Summaq, Khalda	Tla' Al-Ali, Umm Al-Summaq, Khalda
+ Most expensive					

Ranking of the 20 areas of Amman in an ascending order from the least expensive to the most expensive in terms of office space and price of land. It is evident that the area of Al-Madinah or the downtown is one of the cheapest areas in both respects, while the immediately adjacent area of Zahran is considerably more expensive.

Annex 8: Formal and informal markets of al-Balad

Legend:

Formal markets:

1. Gold Market
2. Manko Market
3. Sukkar Market
4. Vegetable Market
5. Italian Street
6. Yamaniya Market

Informal markets:

7. el-Jorah
8. Thieves market
9. Pigeon Market
10. Second-hand clothes Market
11. Souvenir and antiques stalls

Annex 9: Architectural elevations of Faisal and Rida streets in al-Balad

Architectural elevations of Faisal and Rida streets in al-Balad



North East façade of the main street of al-Balad – Faisal street. Note the inconsistency of architectural styles and heights.



North East façade of Rida street. Note the inconsistency of architectural styles and heights.

Annex 10: Theoretical introduction to the definition of the concept of identity

The construction of social identity

Stemming from an interest in heritage as motivated by the need to construct collective meaning and legitimise a collective identity, this research focuses on the notion of “social identity” and the processes it involves. This requires a more dynamic and analytical definition of the concept or, as Richard Jenkins (2004) proposes in his book *Social Identity*, on establishing “a sociological framework for thinking about identity.”

1. Defining identity

The Oxford English Dictionary (Stevenson, 2007) traces the Latin root of the word “identity” to *identitas*, from *idem*, “same.” It proceeds to giving several meanings to the word, of which two are of most relevance:

1. “The quality or condition of being identical in every detail... Also, the fact of being identified *with*.” First used in 1570-1629.
2. “The condition or fact of a person or thing being that specified unique person or thing, esp. As a continuous unchanging property throughout existence; the characteristics determining this; individuality, personality.” First used in 1630-1669.

Discourses on identity became a recurrent theme in the social sciences of the 1990s, leading to the argument that it’s diagnostic of late-modernity (Benhabib, 1996), (Hall, Introduction: who needs identity?, 1996), (Seidman, 1997). The concept of identity emerged in diverse forms and places, such as a tool for marketing, a symbolic public good used in international politics, a fundamental issue in conflicts and definitions of gender and ethnicity to name but a few.

But discussion of identity was present in sociological and psychological literature of the turn of the twentieth century and before, in the work of James, Cooley, Mead and Simmel. An early discussion of identity can be traced to Locke’s *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* published in 1690, and even to the work of Indian philosophers at the turn of the millennium (Harré, 2000). The main catalyst for constructing the concept of identity is change; change provokes concerns about identity, and thus we encounter lost, confused identities and identities in crisis. Nevertheless change is “arguably the norm of the human experience... confrontations of cultures and languages, demographical flux, catastrophe and calamity have all brought change since times immemorial” (Jenkins, 2004). Despite a deep historical trajectory, concerns with identity in the beginning of the 21st century, as well as their context and media of expression are specific to their moment; the conditions of modernity, post-modernity and accompanying social change has brought the issues of identity under the spotlight of critical discourse.

For sociological purposes identity can be defined as:

“the systematic establishment and signification, between individuals, between collectivities, and between individuals and collectivities, of relationships of similarity and difference” (Jenkins, 2004).

Of special relevance to our research is the definition of identity proposed by Giddens (1991) based on the idea of historical narrative. Giddens observes that:

“A person's identity is not to be found in behaviour, nor - important though this is - in the reactions of others, but in the capacity to keep a particular narrative going. The individual's biography, if she is to maintain regular interaction with others in the day-to-day world, cannot be wholly fictive. It must continually integrate events which occur in the external world, and sort them into the ongoing 'story' about the self.”

A more detailed definition of the concept of identity is based on several fundamental principles: identity, in analytical terms is always social and cultural, as the creation of identity and meaning involves interaction with others; identity involves two interdependent criteria of comparison: similarity and difference; identity can only be understood as a reflexive process of “being” or “becoming.”

In the course of discussing these principles several binaries emerge in need of addressing: the question of the primacy of agency versus structure in the construction of identity; the question of individuality and collectivity in the process of identification; and the question of the internality versus the externality of identification.

2. Principles of identification

a. Identity, in analytical terms is always social and cultural:

Before proceeding with a detailed definition of identity, it is important to discuss the relationship between the two concepts of social and cultural identity. From the preliminary definition of identity above, follows the idea that identity is located in practice, it involves signification and meaning, and definition of relationships of similarity and difference, which in turn involve social interaction with others. We can only become aware and define ourselves in relation to things or people similar to or different from us. Identification of self and establishing the cultural meaning of self requires sociality (Jenkins, Social identity, 2004).

A comparison between the basic dictionary meanings of culture and society aids examining their relationship with the construction of identity. The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary (2007) defines culture as “the distinctive customs, achievements, products, outlook, etc., of a society or group; the way of life of society or group,” and society as “the aggregate of people living together in a more or less ordered community.” Interestingly, another definition of the word society is given as “the system of customs and organisation adopted by a body of (esp. human) individuals for harmonious and interactive coexistence for mutual benefit, defence, etc.,” and holds a close similarity to the definition of culture. Consequently one can conclude that the cultural and the social natures of identity are interdependent, and thus the two terms of “social identity” and “cultural identity” are similar and will be used interchangeably in this text.

b. Identity is a reflexive process, product of agency and structure:

This dimension of identity consists of two parts: the notion of the “process” and the notion of reflexivity. Society is never static, and our understanding of what others are and of what we should be is in constant flux. Thus, identity should not be treated as something that is, but rather as something that is “being” or “becoming”; it should be understood as a process located in practice, as a process of identification (Jenkins, Social identity, 2004). An analysis of the dynamism of the nature of identity can be compared to that discussed above in terms of heritage. On the one hand it is tempting to conceptualise it as a verb due to its fluidity and continuous flux; on the other hand, it is important to keep in mind that identity, just as any product of human culture is subjected to similar frameworks of cultural production. The agency to construct identity lies in human hands.

The issue of reflexivity or the conscious decision-making in the construction of identity is strongly linked to the issues of the dominance of agency versus structure in the process, and whether the focus is on the individual or the collective.

In the discussion of the rise of the age of Enlightenment above, we briefly traced the rise of importance of the individual and the strive for personal emancipation that accompanied the advent of modernisation. The modern individual was re-conceptualised as a critical rational being, and the construction of self-identity became a reflexive project of creating a personal narrative. Although the modernity of the reflexive self-identity is questioned by some writers such as Jenkins (2004), it is believed that in pre-modern times the current emphasis on individuality was absent (Baumeister, 1986), (Giddens, 1991). Following Durkheim (1893), and the analysis of medieval Europe, Giddens (1991) argues that in pre-modern societies the attributes of identity were relatively fixed and dependant on notions such as lineage, gender and social status. Identities mostly changed according to the change of role that resulted from progression of age and were framed by stable institutionalised processes, leaving little space for active agency. It is only with the emergence of modern societies and specifically with the differentiation that resulted from the division of labour that individual identities came into focus. Nevertheless, the establishment of such a strong relationship between the reflexivity of identity and modernity is far from problematic, as Jenkins (2004) suggests that reflexivity is to some extent an intrinsic attribute that transcends historical considerations, while Jameson (1991) questions the longevity of the “modern individual,” suggesting that he has already “disappeared under conditions of postmodernity.”

In regard to reflexivity in constructing identity, another issue is in need of addressing: is this reflexivity a product of personal agency or of social structure? In the process of developing an identity, the issue of the primacy of the individual versus the collective has always been problematic. This question is one of ontological importance for the understanding of the social world, as it seeks to understand what the social world is made of, and what constitutes causes and effects in social life. Historically, attitudes regarding this question ranged from viewing social existence as primarily determined by the structure of society – a view dominant in classic sociology (Durkheim for example), to stressing the dominance of individual agents – a view prevalent in methodological individualism, ethnomethodology, social phenomenology and interactionism. A third, balanced position sought to examine the

duality of dominance of agency and structure, accepting the dialectical nature of their relationship.

The schools of sociology dealing with this question can be generally divided into a North American mainstream which seeks to integrate the macro-sociological with the micro-sociological perspectives, and European schools of sociological thought, which focuses on reconciling the questions of agency and structure (Ritzer, 2007). European schools of thought produced several approaches to exploring and explaining the issue, represented by the work Georg Simmel (such as "Philosophy of money" (Simmel, 2004), "The Metropolis and Mental Life (Simmel, 1964)); Norbert Elias ("The civilizing process (Elias, 1969); Pierre Bourdieu ("Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste" (Bourdieu, 1984), "Outline of a theory in practice" (Bourdieu, 1977)); and Anthony Giddens ("The constitution of society: outline of the theory of structuration" (Giddens, 1984)). This research adopts the balanced view of agency and structure as argued by Giddens's theory of structuration. In this theory he suggests that all human action is executed within the framework of a pre-existing social structure, which in turn differs from one context to another. And while by executing actions the actors recreate the structure, they also hold the capability to change it. Thus structures are to be seen as evolving systems, and not only as constrictors of agency, but also as enablers of actions (Giddens, 1984).

c. Identity from the individual to the collective

In the human sciences, the concepts of the individual and the collective are often treated as different kinds of phenomena. This difference in outlook is grounded in the ontological assumption that one or the other is more real. Sciences such as psychology (and often economics) tend to privilege the individual and adopt methodologies that reflect individuality and view that the only acceptable data are that which reveals facts about "individuals and aggregates of individuals," while sciences such as sociology and social anthropology tend to concern with the collective (Jenkins, 2004).

Yet this separation is not straightforward – the approaches differ in the level or the scale they focus their view of society. Charles Wright Mills (1959) argued that in sociology imagination enables us to "understand the larger historical scene in terms of its meaning for the inner life and the external career of a variety of individuals" thus making possible an understanding of the relationship between the two. For Mills, the most important "distinction with which the sociological imagination works is between 'the personal troubles of milieu' and 'the public issues of social structure'." This argument culminates in the belief that society amounts to something more than the sum of the individuals who comprise it.

In order to resolve this binary approach to understanding individuality and collectivity in society Erving Goffman and Anthony Giddens propose a more flexible framework. Based on their work Jenkins (2004) suggests a model which views that the "individually unique" and the "collectively shared" are produced and reproduced by analogous processes and are similar in several important aspects. They both come into being through interaction and are "routinely entangled with each other... identities are necessarily attributes of embodied individuals, [at the same time] they are equally necessarily collectively constructed,

sometimes at a high level of abstraction. In identification, the *collective* and the *individual* occupy the same space.”

d. Identity as a process of establishing similarity and difference:

Although the term identity literally indicates similarity, difference is as crucial to the establishment of the concept. Much of the contemporary social theory distinguishes sharply between identity and difference, focusing on similarity or identification with someone or something ((Anthias, 1998), (Benhabib, 1996), (Taylor D. , 1998), (Woodward, 1997)). Alternatively, identity can be regarded as totally dependent on difference, whereby both form the dynamic principles of identification (Jenkins, Social identity, 2004); as Georg Simmel (1950) argues: “Similarity as fact or tendency is no less important than difference. In the most varied forms, both are the great principles of all internal and external development. In fact the cultural history of mankind can be conceived as the history of the struggles and conciliatory attempts between the two.”

In the social world, similarity and difference play a crucial role in the emergence of collectivity. Jenkins (2004) offers a definition of collectivity as “similarity among and between a plurality of persons – according to whatever criteria.” Membership in a collective entails that the members have something, no matter how elusive, in common. This also entails that they differ from others – non-members in this respect. There is a boundary, whereby everything lying outside it doesn’t belong; at the boundary “we discover what we are and what we are not” (Jenkins, 2004).

Traits of similarity that members of collectivities share can be divided into two types according to the internality and the externality of judgment: groups and categories. In “groups,” the identification is internal – the traits are decided by the members of the collective. In “categories” the identification is external – the traits are decided by a certain observer for his/her own purposes – oftentimes to the ignorance of the members themselves.

One of the main characteristics of this duality of definition is that it affects the perceived reality of the status. In the case of groups; the members, by recognizing themselves as a group internally, “effectively [and subjectively] constitute that to which they belong” (Jenkins, 2004); this often is something intangible, which could range in complexity from the bonds that hold together a secret club, to the foundations of religious or ethnic affiliations. Categories are more complicated; a category is usually defined according to a characteristic unknown to its members, and thus belonging to this category holds little meaning or reality to its members. This external categorisation is usually proposed according to certain analytical characteristic for certain analytical purposes external to the everyday experience of the category members; in social sciences this could be social class, age, gender, income or ethnicity. Categorisation, nevertheless, affects the life of category members: people identify themselves according to class for example, and this holds implications for their actions in life ranging from courtship to housing to education to manner of policing applied (Jenkins, 2004).

Another difference between groups and categories lies in the relationship between their members. The members of groups have this relationship – even if they don't know each other personally, they have the ability to recognise others as members. Being a member of a category on the other hand does not imply an “explicit notion of difference vis-a-vis ourselves and those others” (Jenkins, 2004). Although categorisation might have “real” consequences for the categorized, it remains more significant to the categorizer, because the designation of categories is not disinterested, it plays a role in the creation of power and authority. The role of categorizing procedures of social sciences in the bureaucratic processes of the modern state are well discussed by Foucault (1970, 1980), Rose (1989) and Hacking (1990). As Jenkins (2004) explains: “Scientific notions of ‘objectivity’ and ‘truth’ derive their epistemological power in part from their grounding in procedures of categorisation. In turn, assumptions of objectivity and truth underpin the bureaucratic rationality that is the framework of the modern state.”

From the above it can be concluded that groups and categories both consist of members with shared characteristics, whereby for groups this constitutes a relationship of at least mutual recognition, while for the categorized this relationship is not necessarily present. On the other hand, categorisation is often based on characteristics that are common and significant to society at large and can lead to the subsequent internalisation of categorisation in practice; thus a category can become a group, and experience a real affiliation. A good example is the issue of working class in Marx's writings. Marx is generally referred to as talking about the difference between a “class in itself” and a “class for itself.” The working class is constituted as a category “in itself” by the virtue of shared situation of the workers, their common alienation from the means of production within capitalism. On the other hand, if the “working class” is to achieve any change in its situation, it has to accept the realities posed by this categorisation, and face them as a collectivity – in the form of class and political resistance. At that moment the collective transforms from a category into a group.

Overall, although the dialectic of external-internal definition might imply temporal sequence, they often than not proceed together. A group is rarely formed in a social vacuum, and thus it is exposed to categorisation. A category can become internalised and become a group. The transformation between the two forms of groups and categories is fluid, thus the focus should lie on identities as “constituted in the dialectic of collective identification, in the interplay of group identification and categorisation” (Jenkins, 2004).